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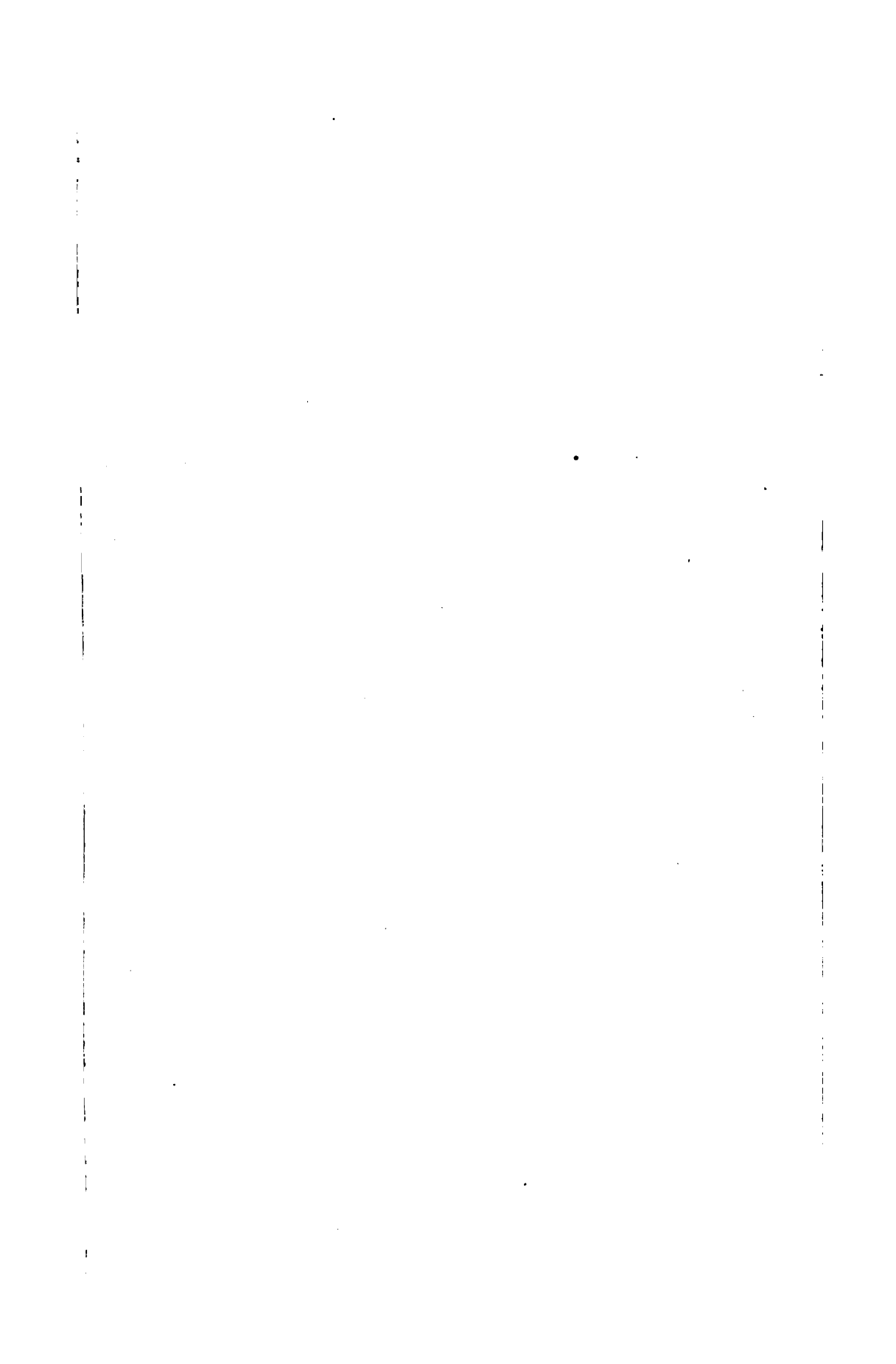
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**AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW**

EDITED BY THE REV. H. M. BAUM

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## OBER-AMMERGAU IN 1875 AND 1880.

1875.

**N**EVER was a drive more enjoyable than that from Kempten, a quaint old Bavarian town, whither we had come from Switzerland through the King's Forest and skirting the Plan See, to Ober-Ammergau. To make the journey in a single day required an early start ; and so we arose before the dawn, and were well on our way when the sunlight, from over the hill-tops, dissipated the mists that had rested all night in the valleys, and made the romantic scenery around us distinctly visible. It was by patient climbing, with many a rest as the day went on, that we gained the heights of the Austrian Tyrol, and, after a little, found ourselves again on the Bavarian Highlands. Our route lay through busy towns and villages, with red-tiled, queerly painted houses and workshops, and market-places filled with the crowd of traffickers. Between these centres of population the fields were ready for the harvesting. Now and then we caught a glimpse of the Tyrolese Alps, with their snowy peaks and glaciers, and one could often see among the rocks, the chamois standing out in bold relief against the sky, seemingly conscious of his safety from the hunter's power. As we reached the highlands of Bavaria, we could not fail to notice the peasants in their picturesque attire, in mien and manners different from their



neighbors across the frontier of the Austrian Tyrol. A marked gravity and dignity of demeanor distinguished the men whom we met, returning from the fields to their quiet *châlets*. The women were handsome in face and form, while the countenances of not a few both men and women, wore that undefinable expression which betrays a soul imbued with a controlling religious sense and alive to the dread realities of time and eternity. In every field, at every cross-road, and at frequent intervals along the way was a rustic shrine or effigy of the Crucifixion, before which the passing peasant invariably knelt to tell his beads, or at least paused for a moment's silent prayer. Even the houses bore in rude fresco, picturings of sacred scenes; and every village church into which we entered was crowded with "Calvarys" and "Bethlehems," while the walls were all aglow with the bright colorings in which the humble artists of the place had sought to depict the "Stations," or other scenes of sacred story. We seemed, as the day wore away, and the rich sunset tintings faded into the soft moonlight, to be on a pilgrimage to some holy shrine, and each step brought us more and more within the influences of a potent spell, such as the deepest and most reverent faith alone could exert.

The evening was well-nigh gone as we drove around the base of the *Kofel*—a frowning headland surmounted by two lofty crosses, towering several thousand feet above the vale and village—and entered the chief street of Ober-Ammergau. We were almost the latest comers of a long procession of visitors from abroad that had passed during the day between the rows of picturesque *châlets* on either side, and had been absorbed in one and another of these simple homes. There was no room for us at the inn, but we had earlier secured accommodations in the house of one of the chorus-singers; and as the lights went out one by one, and every sound of out-door life was hushed, we were snugly housed in our comfortable *châlet*, which was as neat and attractive as either host or guest could wish.

The dawning was fair and bright, and musical with the soft tinkling of the bells of the flocks and herds driven out for pasturage. At seven o'clock, Mass was said at each of the five altars in the village church, which was crowded with reverent worshippers. Here we saw at their devotions the simple peasants of the Highlands in their holiday attire. The married women were distinguished by their high black hats, resembling a grenadier's bearskin, and

evidently a relic of an old-time fashion nearly passed away. The younger *Fräulein*, with their dark velvet bodices in striking contrast with the white muslin neckerchiefs and sleeves, and silver chains, and the scarlet or brocaded skirts which formed their costume, added a quaint picturesqueness to the fresh grace of womanly beauty which their hats tastefully ornamented with gold tassels and flowers and half concealing their dark hair and silver head-gear served to augment. The men, in their velveteen coats of black or gray, decked with rows of silver coins in place of buttons, their knee-breeches displaying their shapely limbs, and with their Tyrolese hats with the indispensable feather, in their hands, made up a scene rare to look upon and difficult to describe. Through the open Church door, one could look out upon the well-filled "God's acre" with its memorial crosses and flower-decked graves, lighted up by the morning sunlight and standing out in graceful relief against the hazy background of the distant hills. As the eye wandered thus in quest of the picturesque, the soft, sweet notes of choral song burst from the village choir, singing one of those grand yet simple hymns of German origin which, though the words were strange and only half intelligible, came to our ears as home-music, so full and hearty and devotional was the strain.

At eight o'clock the High Mass was over, and the actors, who had received the Sacrament, with which they begin their day's dramatic efforts, mingled with the crowd, each and all in search of the morning meal. At nine, the salute of cannon would announce the beginning of *Die Kreuzeschule*—"The School of the Cross," consisting of scenes from the Old Testament in a dramatic form, with *tableaux-vivants* from the New Testament; each of the six parts of the play representing a type and anti-type connected with the Passion, and inverting the order and arrangement of the celebrated *Passions-Spiel*. A half-century had elapsed since the presentation of this play and every eye was expectant, every breast swelling with emotion, as actors and spectators were hurrying to the rude theatre just outside the village.

As we joined the crowd pressing to see this play so unlike any other in the world, there was naturally the questioning of soul,—“Can we venture to witness such a spectacle as this, so foreign to all our experiences, so questionable in point of taste, and treading so familiarly

on holy ground?" The answer to all this questioning seemed before us in the serious air and demeanor of the hundreds who were thronging with us to the play. Mingling with the peasants and visitors like ourselves, were the performers in this strange solemnity, and with due reverence and fitting propriety did they bear themselves in the eyes of all. Whether it were the tall and dignified Joseph Maier with flowing hair, and face and form that, even with the surroundings of a working-dress, startled us by its likeness to one's conception of the "Christus" he was about to personate; or the charming Franziska Flunger, who was in grace and beauty and modest purity, the ideal "Maria" of our highest anticipations; whether it were the sweet peasant children, with their golden hair and rosy, dimpled faces, who were so soon to kneel in graceful attitudes around the cross, or the stately chorus-singers in their Oriental robes, whom we met on the way—all were solemnized, all were transfigured by their parts, and all were evidently impressed with the thrilling import of the tragedy in which they were to take a share. Each peasant actor seemed to enter with all the power of a controlling religious sentiment into the character and scenes which were before him. The same deep intensity of feeling of which we had read as characterizing the representation of the *Passions-Spiel*, was seen on every side. The gift of a *Kreuzigung-Gruppe*, a crucifixion-group in stone by the King of Bavaria, to mark his appreciation of the extraordinary devotion of this portion of his realm and intended for the summit of a hill overlooking the village, had occasioned the revival of this long disused play, last performed in 1825. The venerable priest *emeritus*, Herr Joseph Louis Daisenberger who had revised and re-arranged the text of the *Passions-Spiel* had given to this play his care and labor. Portions of the dialogue had been adapted from one of Metastasio's sacred dramas, and the music was partly composed, and partly selected from well-known sources by the excellent school-master, John Louis Kirchenhofer. Such was the occasion, and the incidents of the strangest and most impressive spectacle our eyes had ever looked upon.

The echoing reverberations of the cannon had hardly died away among the mountains which formed the background of the rude theatre when, after a brief overture the chorus, thirteen in number, clad in robes of bright blue, mauve and magenta, with white embroidered tunics,

and mantles and girdles of various hues, walked slowly in from either side, taking their stand before the curtain which concealed the central portion of the stage. As in the old Greek tragedy the chorus held an important part in the performance, introducing each scene or *tableau* with a measured chant or *recitative*, giving as it were the keynote to that which was to follow, and adding at the close the summing up of the whole drama. Strikingly does the author of "Ammergau; an Idyll," describe this prelude to the play:

"How clearly on my inner sense is borne  
The fair, fresh beauty of the mountain morn,  
The cries of flocks afar, and mixed with these  
The green, delightful tumult of the trees,—  
The birds that o'er from the upper day  
Threw flitting shade, and went their airy way,—  
The bright-robed chorus and the silent throng,  
And that first burst and sanctity of song."

The *Chorführer*, or chorus-leader attired in a priestly robe, fringed and embroidered with gold, and wearing a flowing beard, recited the prologue in a rich clear voice, while the part-singers "took up the wondrous tale," and the whole chorus followed, all raising their hands from time to time with measured but graceful gesture. As their part draws to a close, they divide and fall slowly back in line on either side of the central or inner stage. The curtain now rises and there is revealed an exquisite *tableau* of a Cross "raised against the eastern sky," to which an angel figure points, while women and children kneel around it. Thus is the central thought of the play made plain: the Cross of Christ, the emblem of salvation, the sacrifice for sin, it is this great truth of the atoning death on Calvary that this spectacle in all its parts is designed to hold up to view. Following this *tableau* was "The School of the Cross," of which we add a brief description, not only of the play but also of the *dramatis personæ* themselves.

In the first scene Cain and Abel appeared, the former clad in the skin of a leopard to indicate the ferocity and treachery of his nature, while the latter was arrayed in the softest and whitest fleece. In the background stood the rude Altar and the smoke of the acceptable sacrifice was rising from the dying embers. The dialogue was well sustained. The rage of the elder brother shown in harsh tones and angry looks, was well contrasted with the

gentleness of manner and the soft, loving tones of the younger. In vain does the father seek to soften the resentment of his first-born, and Eve, with the caresses of a mother's love strive to soothe him into a gentler mood. Even the warning of the Angel of the Lord is not withheld and the first scene of this unique drama ends with the apparent, though temporary, reconciliation of the brothers. But the embrace was only the prelude to the fatal blow, and although the scene of blood is not represented on the stage, nature itself announces that some deed of evil is being done. The lurid flash of lightning is seen; the crashes of thunder are heard, and Adam, bowed with grief, appears bearing in his arms the lifeless body of his son. Eve joins in the bitter lamentations; and although in all this the well known language of the inspired narrative is closely followed, and there is—there can be no novelty in the dramatic representation of that which is familiar to us all—the simple, unaffected acting of these peasants and the perfect naturalness of the surroundings gave to these scenes an impressiveness and an interest which brought tears to many eyes, and profoundly affected even the most indifferent of the spectators.

The *tableaux* representing the New Testament anti-types of these events of the Old Testament story were most admirably performed. In the first, that of the cleansing of the Temple, we saw for the first time the *Christus*, Joseph Maier, in character. It was as if the noblest picture the eye had ever looked upon was living, breathing, almost moving before our eyes! The majestic figure, the sad, worn countenance, not indeed the idealized conception of Leonardo da Vinci, or that of Carlo Dolci; but, to our taste, something far more touching, far more real because more truly human: the dark flowing hair parted in the middle; the fine, intellectual forehead; the rich, full beard; the eyes filled with an expression of infinite tenderness, pity, love; the wonderful dignity of manner; all brought to our mind most vividly, almost painfully, the Galilean peasant, the Son of Mary in His perfect humanity. The effect of all this was heightened by the purple robe falling in most artistic folds, and the sandaled feet;—every detail of costume, in fact, being copied from paintings by the old masters—and every gesture being rendered with the most perfect though unstudied grace. The character and costumes of the Pharisees and Priests were most carefully portrayed. We could see them glaring with

rage upon the Son of Man, crowding upon his steps with wrathful words and threatening gestures, while in the picturesque coloring and variety of dress, and the artistic, effective grouping of the persons of the scene, it was as if we saw in all the freshness of the artist's latest touch one of those grand paintings of Albrecht Dürer or Holbein, which, when once beheld, imprint themselves forever upon the mind.

In the second *tableau* we have the most perfect representation of the betrayal and the subsequent remorse of Judas. The priests, in their crimson robes embroidered with gold, with white tunics interwoven with blue and purple, their mitres bearing the inscription, "Holiness to the Lord :"—the apostles : S. Peter, in the traditional blue robe and yellow mantle, S. John in red and Judas in orange and yellow, seemed as before, in every attitude, in each detail of dress, familiar to the eye from the careful reproduction of well-known paintings by the Masters of German Sacred Art. The rendering of the character of the traitor was perfect. The unquiet, startled air, the nervous clutching, as in a fit of abstraction, at his yellow robes, the strife of the conflicting emotions of greed and terror, and the final sorrow for his hopeless sin, were portrayed in a most masterly manner by Gregor Lechner, whose careful study of his part and strikingly appropriate type of face, made up a marvelous piece of *acting*—if that can be called acting which offered to the eye no gesture and made no sound for the ear to take in but was still, motionless and yet fully, perfectly understood.

Following these representations of the first crime by which the earth was stained with blood, and the greatest of all crimes, the betrayal to death of the Son of Man, we had next in order the types and anti-types of the plan of redemption. The Bible teaching of sacrifice and the declaration of God that without the shedding of blood there could be no remission of sin, were now brought prominently into view. First we had the Eucharistic type and anti-type in the offering to Abraham as God's representative, by Melchisedec, of bread and wine in which the Oriental features of the scene were admirably presented, followed by the *tableau* of the Last Supper as painted by Leonardo da Vinci and making one of the most perfect specimens of grouping and coloring possible to conceive. Then the Sacrifice of Isaac formed the "action"—to quote the technical word of the rude "*libretto*" in each one's hand.

This was presented in its two-fold aspect : first, the struggle of parental love and the final submission of the father's will to the behest of Jehovah, followed by the "representation" in *tableau* of the Agony in Gethsemane ; and then, the scene on Mount Moriah, in which God Himself provides a lamb for sacrifice, which preceded the *tableau* of the great central act of our redemption, the Crucifixion on Calvary !

There had been an evident culminating of interest and effect in these successive *tableaux* of the great events of our redemption :

" Thro' all these scenes the fateful story ran,—

\*   \*   \*   \*   \*

There was the evening feast, remembered long,  
The mystic act and sacramental song ;  
There was the dreadful garden, rock and tree,  
Waker and sleeper in Gethsemane."

But everything paled before the picturing of Calvary !

In the foreground the soldiers rend the garments of the Lord and cast lots for His vesture. The centurian stands at one side with his spear in hand ; the Marys are grouped around the central Cross, the Magdalene with her arms clasped about its base, and the Virgin Mother, the loveliest face of all we saw abroad, looking up with streaming eyes. The Beloved Disciple is near at hand. The thieves are hanging on either side with their arms thrown over the cross-tree as we see them in the paintings of the Crucifixion. The priests and people are there, looking on to see the end. The picture is complete : it is real, living, we are gazing spell-bound on the scene on Calvary !

A glance at these details suffices, for no one can notice long any detail or minor figure in this Divine Tragedy. It is the *Christus* on whom each eye, looking through tears is fixed, for it is, apparently, a living Christ that we behold upon the Cross. "Sitting down we watch Him there." Wonderful is the perfect pose of the figure of this peasant of Ober-Ammergau. Ah ! it is the realization of our highest and most reverent conceptions that we now behold. Everything is depicted with almost painful reality, far exceeding in beauty and exquisite grace the finest paintings of this Scene of scenes ! The wonderfully beautiful modeling of the limbs of the *Christus*, as they hung in most perfect statuesque lines upon the tree of shame, was of itself a study. The worn, agonized form, the torn

and bleeding hands, the bruised head, bound with the crown of thorns, the pierced side and, above all, that marvelous *look* of the sufferer so full of compassionate love and tenderness made up so vivid and so reverent a representation that we could not but confess that of all the pictures of the Passion we had ever looked upon, this was immeasurably the most beautiful and the best. Tears were in every eye. The simple-hearted peasants sobbed aloud. No one could have been the worse for such a sight, and I, for one, felt as I had never done before, either in reading the story of the Passion, or in gazing upon those world-renowned paintings of the Scene on Calvary. How solemn and how terrible was the tragedy of the death upon the cross! Years have passed since I first looked upon the sight; but as I write, it rises before my view in all its tremendous majesty, and will not be forgotten till my latest hour of earth.

We had reached the climax, and it was with a thrill of relief that we saw the curtain fall. When it rose again it was to give us in its representation of the coming of "light out of darkness," the scene of the return of Joseph as Governor of Egypt to his father's arms and love, typifying the return of the Captain of our Salvation to His Father's Divine presence. The dramatic "action" was as usual excellent and was followed by the *tableau* of the Ascension. In this scene, Christ bearing still the marks of the Passion, but with surroundings catching something of the hues of heaven, was represented as standing on the mount with hands extended in the act of blessing the disciples and others who were grouped about him. But the great central act of this sacred tragedy had passed and soon the final song of Triumph sounded from the unwearied chorus, and slowly and silently the crowd of spectators dispersed.

We went to our quiet rooms in the little *châlet* to muse in silence on the scenes of the eventful day. At sunset we wandered through the village and climbed the hill where the Stone Crucifixion Group, not yet in place though on the ground, was to stand forth in the sight of all the neighborhood. We scanned this work of artistic skill but it seemed as nothing to the living representation our eyes had so lately and so wonderingly looked upon! Surely in this isolated village and among these remarkable wood-carvers and herdsmen, there must be an abiding realization of the Divine Presence rarely felt throughout a whole community in these faithless days! Coming down to them from their fathers, a sacred legacy, these simple-hearted Christian



peasants make the representation of this Divine Tragedy the absorbing passion of their lives. They enter into its preparation with heart and soul. They are thoroughly imbued with their respective parts. They feel it an honor and a privilege thus to keep up the tradition of their past history, and in turn, the very requirements of the sacred drama, as they demand years of study and careful preparation, even in the most minute details, impart a touch of poetry and an art-training to their humble and else uneventful lives. Well may we, whose high privilege it was to have seen this wonderful representation, unite in the words of the pious monk of Ettal in his chronicle of the results of the first performance of the *Passions-Spiel*, Anno 1634: "And not only were they all healed which were afflicted, but they begged God to bless these His servants who had thus lovingly exposed the Passion of His blessed Christ." And this is not merely the testimony of the imaginative or the impressible. In the words of the correspondent of the *London Times*, we may sum up our own impressions: "I have never seen so affecting a spectacle or one more calculated to draw out the best and purest feelings of the heart."

Early on the morrow we turned reluctantly away from Ober-Ammergau, retracing our steps by a varied path through fields and villages to Kempten, and thence to Switzerland. But nothing could, nothing ever will shut out from mind the memory of that Autumnal Sunday when, in a manner most affecting, most surprising, we had with our natural eyes, to an extent we had never dreamed possible in the flesh, "seen the Christ."

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#### OBER-AMMERGAU IN 1880.

**I**MRESSED as we had been by the representation of *Die Kreuzeschule* in 1875, it was but natural that we should be among the throng of pilgrims from all over the world who sought Ober-Ammergau in 1880 to witness the *Passions-Spiel*. We left Munich for Murnau early in the

morning of the last day of July. Our route by rail led us along the west bank of the Starnbergsee, a pretty lake of fifteen miles in length, and then as the water was passed through an undulating country, well wooded and cultivated, with the Bavarian Highlands in the background, lifting their fantastic shapes like grim spectres peering through the morning haze.

At Murnau a roomy carriage awaited us and after a hearty lunch in the public room of the little Gasthaus, "*La Poste*," amidst a chatter of men and a clinking of tankards from the Tyroleans and Bavarian peasants which was deafening, we began our drive. The way was thronged with *zweispanners* and *einspanners*, filled to overflowing with pilgrims of every nationality and every speech, while the roadsides were crowded with pedestrians, peasants in their fantastic garb, tourists in them who had failed to secure carriages, and others who scorned to ride, all trudging through the deep mud and over the slippery stones and climbing the steep ascent that led first to Ettal and thence to Ober-Ammergau. Steep indeed was the way and long the road cut through the mountain gorge with openings on either side revealing scenes of wondrous beauty, and following the course of the Loiach which, swollen by the late frequent rains, was making music as it dashed over its rocky bed. Ere we gained the summit of the pass we were all on foot and the horses dragged with difficulty the empty carriage up the rough hill-side.

At length Ettal, with its grand old Benedictine Monastery, now the brewery and abode of a German Count, was reached. We visited the church and cloisters, gazed upon the relics bedecked with jewels and clothed in cloth of gold, and the miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin, which bears the palm for ugliness of all the representations of "Mary, maid and mother" we have ever seen, and securing a medal as a memento of our visit, hastened onward to our destination. The scenery through which we were passing was grand indeed. The *Baurische Hochland* or Bavarian Highlands among which we were, has no more romantic or beautiful peak than the *Ethaler Mandl*, up which we had patiently climbed. The snow-clad range of the Watterstein, rising to an altitude of ten thousand feet, was seen in the distance, while far beyond towered the Zugspitze, twelve thousand feet in height, and extending toward the Tyrol.

Leaving Ettal, our road wound in and out among the

heights, on either side shaded by ragged crags, inaccessible save to the chamois and the *wilds chutz* or poacher of the wild Alps. Three miles from Ettal lies the village of Ober-Ammergau in the valley of the Ammer—clear sparkling stream from which the town and district (*gau*) take their name. The valley is completely shut in by mountains, while high above the hamlet and the stream on the summit of a rocky precipice called the Kofel, rising perpendicularly to an altitude of at least two thousand feet, stands the colossal Cross erected by the pious villagers, and so placed as to be seen from every point below by the upturned eye seeking consolation or invoking Heaven's aid. We drove through the crowded streets to the house of Tobias Flunger who was the *Christus* in the year 1850, the *Pilate* in 1860 and 1870, and was now in his calm and beautiful old age, the *Moses* and *S. Matthew* of the present representation. Here a hearty welcome awaited us, first from the lovely daughter of our host, the *Sara* of five years ago, and the younger sister of the beautiful "*Marie*," whom we had seen and admired when here before. In our neat and comfortable rooms, with the huge canopy over each couch and the walls adorned with sculpture prints we were at once at home. We were at once carried back to 1875 and its ineffaceable memories. As then, the deep shadows of the cross crowning the Kofel's summit rested on the valley and village below. The Ammer rushed tempestuously by the wayside as it did when we first saw its clear shining waters. The herds and flocks were coming from their pasturage on the wild Alpine heights, their tinkling bells making music as they came. The visitors were thronging from every quarter for the morrow's solemn play. The village band was discoursing sweet music to greet the new comers, and the recollections of all that we had seen five years before, as well as the memory of the vivid description of the village and the play in 1850, found in the fascinating pages of "*Quits*," by the Baroness Tautphoes, came fresh to mind, the more readily as the venerable man who welcomed us to his home was no other than the *Christus* of that year and that book who by his untaught but most artistic acting, gave to the *Passions-Spiel* a world-wide fame. It was late when we closed the windows of our *châlet* home and sought in sleep to shut out the well-remembered past as well as our anticipations of the morrow.

Of the day and drama we can only turn to our note-book

and give almost without a change the words we penned when on the spot and with the impressions of the scene and actors fresh in mind.

We are sitting in the theatre at Ober-Ammergau during the noon-time rest. For the fourth time of all the many representations of this wonderful play this year, the rain has not fallen during the first half of the play, and the day, though lowering, is still calm and cool. Six thousand people crowding every available place for sitting or standing, have shared the sight with us, most of whom are sitting in the open air on seats that have no backs. We have the choicest and costliest seats, with an uninterrupted view of the stage, our places having been secured and paid for weeks before. Perfect order has been maintained by the vast auditory, and my apprehensions that the deeply religious character of the scene and its surroundings might have been impaired now that all the world makes its pilgrimage to Ober-Ammergau, are dispelled. In the humble home where we are stopping the father and daughters have prominent parts. The lovely girl who met us on the way and directed us to her house was the "Sara" of the School of the Cross five years ago, and with her fair-haired, blue-eyed, younger sister who waited on us at supper and breakfast, are among the chorus whose recitatives and songs, after the manner of the old Greek tragedy composed in strophe and anti-strophe, introduce the various *tableaux* and scenes, and give in words and wonderful pantomime the thread of the narrative for our following. An elder sister, now married, was the beautiful "Marie" of the last decennial representation. The younger members of this gifted peasant-family have also their share in the play which numbers over five hundred performers and is enacted in a scale difficult to realize unless one is present on the spot. From under our covered seats we look out upon a stage of vast extent, the background of which consists of the green hillsides and clouded skies of earth and heaven. In the centre of the stage is an inner stage or proscenium style with scenery and drop curtain. On either side are balconies, and besides, stretching far back, there are two streets of Jerusalem, making deep vistas which it requires but little imagination to deem real. From the wings of the inner stage, and through these long streets the actors in the drama and *tableaux* appear; and on so vast a scale are the whole accessories to the play, and so wonderful is the acting—if that is acting where each peasant personator seems to *live* his character

both on and when off the stage, and seemingly lives for this end alone—that each spectator is thrilled with the vivid reality of the representations and follows every word and look and gesture as if carried back eighteen hundred years, and witnessing that with his own eyes which in its reality must have been wondrously like what we have seen to-day.

The stage, which is one hundred and fifty feet in width, is raised slightly as it retires. In the extreme front are, on each side, wings for the entrance, or exit, of the Chorus, which consists of nineteen persons, nine entering on one side and ten, including the *Choragus*, from the other, meeting in the centre, and so grouped are they that they extend across the stage, the tallest in the middle. The *Choragus*, or leader, a singularly handsome man, is dressed in a long white alb, or loose robe of rich material, reaching to his feet, which are sandaled, and is girded by a loose girdle. Over his shoulders hangs a long scarlet mantle bordered with gold, falling to the ground, and giving, by its rich color and graceful folds, great beauty to the whole costume. A circlet of gold binds his hair, which falls loosely behind. The other members of the chorus are dressed in similar robes of white, with hanging sleeves, but with mantles of various colors, bordered with gold and so harmoniously and artistically arranged as to produce a most picturesque and pleasing effect.

Advancing from either side of the stage and taking up their assigned positions, the *Choragus* recites the prologue which introduces each act, while at the close the note is taken up by the chorus, either singly in turn or by all, in most effective and admirably sustained melody, chanting the theme which is to be revealed first in the *tableaux vivants* of the Old Testament types, and then in the dramatic representation of our Lord's last days.

As the curtain rises to display the *tableaux*, the *Choragus*, and half the chorus, most gracefully step backward on one side; the other half on the other, so as not to impede the view, and while the *tableau* is displayed, which is generally for several minutes, the chorus in song describe the relations of type to anti-type. After the contemplation of the picture, made more solemn and effective by the musical explanation, the curtain falls, and the chorus resume their places across the stage in front of the proscenium with consummate grace, while they recite in song the connection between the picture which has just

been shown and the dramatic scene which is to follow. As the curtain rises again the chorus retire, to reappear whenever a new act, with its preparatory *tableau*, is introduced. They are called the chorus of *Schutzgeister* or Guardian Angels, and as heavenly interpreters or monitors, they are at hand throughout the whole rendering of the *Passions-Spiel*. Well does Mary Howitt express the relations of these chorus-singers to the play as she relates: "Whilst they sang, our hearts were strangely touched, and our eyes wandered away from these singular peasant-angels and their peasant audience up to the deep, cloudless sky; we heard the rustle of the trees, and caught glimpses of the mountains, and all seemed a strange, poetical dream."

The costumes of the personators in this Sacred Drama are carefully prepared, and in many cases are both costly and gorgeous. They are designed or copied from the paintings of the old masters, as are to a certain extent many of the *tableaux* and not a few of the most remarkable groupings of the drama itself. In viewing the representation one felt as if the best of the sacred paintings with which all the world is familiar had become instinct with life, and the figures had left the canvas to move awhile on the stage before us, and speak and act their parts with the familiar faces and in the very dresses with which art has ever connected them. Each of the peasant apostles at Ober-Ammergau might sit for the portrait of him whose part he takes, and the likeness would be confessed by all—so fully has the personator entered into, and grown to, the part he plays. We visited the "Christus" in his humble home and spent a little time under his roof, amidst the carvings he had made and with the members of his household about him. We had seen him five years before. Younger then, his features at that time more fully realized the ideal of the Son of Man than now, but even now there was that about his confessedly peasant type of countenance which profoundly impressed each beholder. His wonderful grace shown in every movement, even when in his home and in his peasant garb; the calm, reverential manner which is natural with him and noticeable as he walks the streets or as he sits down to converse under his own roof; the purity and perfectness of the modulations of his voice, whether upon the stage or in everyday conversation; in short, the dignity and grandeur of this man to whom the honor has been assigned by his fellow villagers

of personating the Incarnate One whom he reverentially worships, all unite to render Joseph Maier an object of universal interest. When one realizes that upwards of one hundred thousand spectators from all parts of the world will be drawn to this little village in the Bavarian Highlands, far from the centres of art or fashion, far even from the almost omnipresent railway, it must be confessed that the central figure of all these wonderful impersonations must be a remarkable man. Simple, unaffected, conscious only of the privilege, which is his, of personating his Lord and seeking in his realization of the character to testify his reverent love and adoration of Him who died for him, there can be no doubt of the fitness of this actor for the part, if any one on earth could fitly undertake it. The acting of Gregor Lechner, to whom the part of Judas has been assigned, both in 1870-71 and 1880, is also wonderful. The representation of the influence of contending passions struggling for the mastery, the vivid depicting in looks and gesture, tone of voice and movement, of avarice, covetousness, hypocrisy, unfaithfulness and deceit, to be followed by self-reproach, remorse, self-condemnation and despair, was masterly. It was so with the impersonation of S. Peter by Jacob Hett. We saw in every word and action, in the expressive features and in the carefully modulated voice, the impetuous, self-confident, loving, but timorous and yielding follower of his Lord, who could deny his Master with oaths after he had with excessive and ill-timed zeal undertaken His defence at fearful odds, and then at the loving though reproachful look of Christ, weep bitterly for a fall, which, though the Master might forgive, the disciple could never forget.

Nor these alone. Every one of the hundreds who took part in this representation was evidently actuated and impressed with a vivid sense of the awful character of the scenes he was engaged in and the part he had to take; and the utter absence of applause or any demonstration during the more than eight hours of the play, attested the sympathy of the vast audience with this religious sentiment.

The music was singularly appropriate and at times quite artistic. It is, as is the whole drama, the production of home talent, and its fitting harmonies will long linger in memory. As a celebrated actor, who witnessed the *Passions-Spiel* when our host, Herr Flunger was the "*Christus*" thirty years ago, and gave the character and the drama its

first celebrity, remarked, "such natural acting on the stage was not to be met with elsewhere." So all confessed. It was the highest art, for all art was concealed—each one seemed to look and live his part.

During the performance of the play which we have sought to describe, the auditory seemed spell-bound. Every eye was turned toward the stage. Every voice was hushed save when at the close of the marvelous *tableaux*, in which the impersonations were motionless as though cut in stone, and when the grouping of scores and even hundreds of men, women and even children of tender years, displayed artistic taste of the highest order, a subdued hum of admiration attested the applause universally accorded though never otherwise expressed. From the moment the *Christus* appeared, to the end, his calm, dignified face and form, his wonderful grace, his exquisite modulations of voice held everyone's rapt attention. Again and again did we look through eyes suffused with tears. As the second part opened, the skies which had gathered blackness during the interval between the parts, began to dispense a gentle, but abundant, rain. Though two-thirds of the auditory were exposed to its force without any possibility of shelter, hardly a score retired, while in the case of the performers, who were equally exposed, no sign of consciousness of the drenching storm could be perceived. There was no hurry, no attempt to secure shelter; all were too much imbued with a sense of the importance and deep solemnity of what they were doing to think of rain or in any way to mar the perfection of their impersonations. The Chorus, who from their position and their allotted work were especially exposed, were completely drenched ere the play was over, and yet, on our return to the home of the Flungers, by carriage, as soon as we, among the very first, could find egress from the theatre, Sophie and her sister, two of the Schutzgeister, or Angelic Chorus, were at the door to greet us, smiling and happy as though they had passed a day of rest instead of having been up before the dawn, at work at home and for eight hours acting their parts upon the stage. It is in this spirit that the drama is performed. The successive generations are trained up with a view to its proper representation. The pecuniary return is utterly inadequate for such patient toil, such complete absorption. Everything is sacrificed to the correct performance of the play, and the individuals lose in neglected work more than



their share in the returns. In 1871, the *Christus* received after his toil of successive weeks, less than five dollars for each representation.

Again and again have the villagers been solicited to enact the play elsewhere, and large sums have been offered them as an inducement to display their histrionic talent in the capitals in Europe and America. They will not do that for gain which is to them the outcome of deeply religious feeling.

We parted from the Flungers with regret, so sweet and gentle were they in their simplicity; so abundant were the evidences they displayed of the culturing of their respective parts, on their faces, their manners, their very speech and movements, that we felt as though we had known and loved these peasants for years. We entered our names on their visitor's book, which contained representative names from all parts of the world. We paid our meagre "reckoning," and in the midst of the rainfall, which had now set in in earnest, we started on our return to Murnau and Munich. The road was that we had taken in coming. Crowded as it was then, it was almost impassable now. Zweispanners, einspanners, droschkes, landaus, coaches, wagons, omnibuses, carts of every style, and without a vacant seat, were disputing the right of way, while drenched and bedraggled pedestrians of all nations, rank and speech, were crowding the roadsides or darting in and out among the plunging, baulking, toiling steeds. We passed along the Ammer's banks, with the rows of mountain-ash laden with the bright red berries on either side. The Kofel, with its lofty cross, was shortly left behind. Ettal, with its bedizzened skeletons and brewery, was reached, and the crowd for a time diminished, as some stopped to pray at this noted shrine, and others sought the creature comforts of the foaming tankards, beer and breviary side by side. We had left the entrance to the Ammerthal, the Ettaler-Mandl rose in majesty above us, and we began the steep descent to Oberau. Even through the rain-drops the scenery was most beautiful and grand. Not a few of the motley crowd of post-travelers accompanying us stopped from time to time to look off from the mountain-side to the mist-wreathed hills and swollen water-courses which were all about us; now we stopped as an overworked horse fell under his burden, and a crowd of riders were forced to take to the muddy road; now we paused to note the picturesque costumes of the peasants

of the neighborhood who had made their pilgrimage to this *Passions-Spiel* on foot, and though drenched and fasting, were trudging along to their still distant homes with reverent faces and without a word or sound of merriment, evidently impressed beyond measure with what they had seen and heard.

At length the light faded out, Wilhelm was passed, the Staffelsee, with its traditions connecting it with S. Boniface, was seen in the distance, and Murnau was at hand. We were in time for the special train for Munich, which bore fully a thousand returning pilgrims to the Bavarian capital. We were soon snugly and quietly ensconced in our comfortable compartment. Wearied out with the excitement and impressions of the day, we could not talk; we could only think. At length the beautiful Starnberg lake, first seen by us five years ago from the other side and at the base of Schloss Berg, one of the Bavarian king's favorite resorts, could be discerned through the rain and mist. It was shortly left behind, and at midnight we were awakened from our troubled sleep at the central station in Munich. Our Passion-pilgrimage was over.

*Cui bono?* We frankly say that we were never before so impressed with the reality of the facts of the Incarnation and the atoning death of our Lord Jesus Christ. That which we looked upon with streaming eyes and in common with a weeping multitude will never fade away from remembrance. The ideal Passion-picture of our minds has been realized, and neither painting nor statue will ever rise to mind as we seek to image-forth to our inner sense the agony endured by Christ, for us and for our salvation; but we shall ever recall that which our eyes have seen and to which our hearts involuntarily responded—the Bavarian peasant, who in his simple-hearted, child-like devotion has personated so wondrously the central scene of faith and history. Elsewhere what we have so deeply enjoyed would be blasphemous. Here it seemed to be but the natural outgrowth of a dream-land piety and idyllic religious life. And so the toil and travel of thousands of miles were repaid. We shall never forget the wondrous scenes of our solemn Lord's day at Ober-Ammergau.

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.



## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND CATHOLIC REFORM.

**I**T is now nearly one hundred years, and yet the French Revolution is not finished, and we still continue to turn in a magic and fatal circle, that nothing can break: going from riot to usurpation, from anarchy to despotism, from conquest to invasion; and we are never certain whether we are witness to an agonizing though glorious birth, or to a prolonged and monstrous abortion. But certain it is that the offspring born amid such a crisis, and amidst so much blood is not the harbinger of that new order of things which is to regenerate the world. He whom we looked for has not yet appeared.

One of the reasons why the Revolution is not yet terminated is that it is not explained or even understood. It contains such luminous yet complex revelations, it presents such opposing aspects, that men of great genius and often of great sincerity can say with M. de Maistre, "It is a satanic revelation," others like Lacordaire, Lamennais and Buchez, "it is *par excellence* the true application of the Gospel to human society." An historic philosopher—M. Edgar Quinet—affirms that the failure of the French Revolution—like a vessel swallowed by the tempest just as she touches port—has for principal reason the want of intelligence and courage. According to him the insti-

gators of that great event did not perceive that Religion was the soul of Society, and that any great change could not be wrought in one without its being accomplished in the other. "Therefore," says this historian, "because of this superstitious timidity, which is inherent in the Latin mind, the authors of the French Revolution did not see—or if they did—had not the courage to make the necessary change, attempting only to overthrow the political edifice, without daring to touch, with any degree of efficacy, the edifice of Belief and Religious Institutions."

With all due deference to this distinguished thinker, we must say that all, or nearly all, of this explication is false. For, firstly, it is not true that the Latin mind in general, and the French mind in particular, was stricken, as he pretends, with a kind of religious paralysis. He thus accuses us of timidity, while my accusation would be of audacity.

Among the great religious revolutions which have occurred within the last two thousand years two of the most radical ones have been incited by the Latin mind; one eminently divine touches perfection,—the other human, consequently defective.

Christianity born at Jerusalem was rejected by the Semitic race—Jews and Arabs. Proscribed, thrust out by the sons of Abraham—its own household—where did it find a soil providentially prepared for its growth and fruition? In the Greco-Roman world. At Athens, at Rome, when S. Paul came with S. Peter in the great persecution of Nero, the two seeds of Christianity—the Word and Blood: The Word of the Living God and the Blood of Martyrs! And from thence on to Gaul to Paris—one of the capitals of Christianity—especially of intellectual Christianity. And all this in Latin soil.

Next comes the great religious Revolution, the most daring and the most fruitful of all—divinely aided by grace from Above, and humanly aided by the Latin spirit—sixteen centuries after the Greek Revolution of Christ—Calvinism. And I can speak with so much more impartiality because it is that branch of Protestantism that differs most from Catholicism, and because I do not accept its doctrines. But it has been the most radical, and at the same time the most popular of all the branches of Protestantism. It was from Calvinism that sprung forth Puritanism, and it was from the stalwart stock of Puritanism that germed and budded the great American Revolution. And

from whence came Calvinism? From the forge of a French brain! And its pulpit and capitol was a French town—Geneva.

And finally, in the XVIII Century, when the third revolution—the revolution of Infidelity—had begun and shaken the world, who were the heroes, the kings of that new power? It was Voltaire—it was Rousseau. And again it was the French tongue and the Latin genius.

And therefore Edgar Quinet is mistaken when he accuses the French mind of timidity and the Revolution of lacking in courage in religious affairs. Instead of this it has sinned by its audacity. It sought, not to work a necessary and therefore legitimate change, that would have borne abundant fruit in the Religion of France, but it sought to break away from the truths contained in that Religion and, indeed, with Truth itself and with Revelation. It would substitute Christianity by Deism.

This was sterile audacity, because the genius, the power, the enthusiasm of patriotism could not prevail against the force of Divine things. And consequently Deism will always remain a Philosophy, and will never be a Religion. It is not that poor, meagre Philosophy which can ever take the place of Christianity—that sublime Revelation which has come from far beyond man, and from far above humanity.

We reiterate that the French Revolution sinned, not by its timidity, but by its audacity. But to be truthful to history the charge of audacity must not be imputed to the Revolution but to the National Convention—to the Reign of Terror—to the worship of the Supreme Being! We will not speak of that innocent and somewhat ridiculous idyl, that Deistic sect which later under the Directory was called "*Theophilanthropy*." That nonsense possessed no real initiative force and much less that spontaneous enthusiasm of the great Revolution. No; the French Revolution was not Deist as was the Convention, nor was it Atheist as was later on the Commune.

We must not seek the real inspiration either in Robespierre or Reveillère Lepeaux, and still less in Hébert or Chaumette. It must be looked for in the celebrated "Note Books of State" in the year 1789, or later on in the labors and in the laws of the Constituent Assembly. And if we study the Revolution, as we begin to do at present—not superficially, but in the original documents in the handwriting of the men who wrote at that very moment—we will

find that the preparation for the Revolution during the reign of Louis XV. was not by any means an irreligious movement, nor was it a secular movement. Its inception was at the epoch of the famous Bull *Unigenitus*, and its spirit was a religious one.

Superficial minds will here protest that to get to the fundamental facts of this great political event we must go back, re-commence and discuss the abstruse theological questions which have been exhausted by the Jansenists and the Jesuits. And it is true, we must seek in the past the explanations of the present—for the French Revolution had its birth in the Christian mind of the French people—at a time when the French mind was not separated from the Christian spirit. And the Christian spirit of the French people well understood that the Bull *Unigenitus* was not the first attempt on the part of Rome against their liberty of conscience, but it was, notwithstanding, the great and mortal stroke that fell upon the Gallican Church—our old National Church of France—and upon the robust Evangelical Christianity of our Fathers.

Christian France understood that there was in this Papal document a condemnation of Christianity in its two principal sources; the exterior source, which is the Bible—for reading the Bible was condemned by the Bull—and the interior source, which is Grace—that sovereignty of God which dwells in the soul, and which constitutes the fullness of liberty in man.

The logical French mind of our Fathers well understood that there was in this emanation of the Roman Curia a direct attack upon the sacred traditions of their country and upon the liberty of their Churches, and they refused to receive from the impure hands of Cardinal Dubois and his satellites that Bull which was in fact the definition of the principle of Papal infallibility. This was not alone a theological quarrel—though we believe that the quarrels of theologians are worth as much as the quarrels of kings, parties and peoples—it was the revolt of the public mind, the University, the Parliament, the citizens (*bourgeoisie*) and the better part of the clergy. In 1732 the Parliament resisted the King, Louis XV., and his ministers, as well as the coalition of absolutism and Ultramontanism, and such was the public opinion that when the magistrates, who composed the Parliament, passed along the streets, *vivas* greeted them and they were called the true fathers of the country and worthy the Roman Senate. There was an

attempt on the part of this Parliament to convert the Court of Justice into a representative of the entire Nation and the Kingdom into a sort of Republic. We see that the great theological questions, without ceasing to be religious, became political; and parties were no longer called Jansenists and Jesuits, but Nationals and Sacerdotalists.

It is, therefore, a great error to think that it was the Infidel Philosophy of the XVIII Century which inspired the French Revolution. I will not, however, deny what was really generous in that Philosophy in its philanthropic and progressive point of view. And in a social point of view it also contained great and noble sentiment, but it was, as Bordas-Demouline termed it, Un-philosophy.

The movement from which sprung the French Revolution was anterior, and already in all thinking heads and all valiant hearts before this Infidel Philosophy of the XVIII Century had any influence on public opinion.

Now we hasten on with events.

The great dial of time, of nations and of God, marked the solemn hour for France. And now rung out the portentous 1789! Then were assembled the States at Large. (*Etats Genereaux.*) And then as in a furnace—rapidly and powerfully—was cast in the old France all torn in fragments, to be thrown out from this mighty mould remodeled—the new France! Then all caste was abolished; there was but the Nation. And the Nation proclaimed her device, which was accepted by Louis XVII., and the people swore fidelity to “The Nation, to the Law and to the King.” The Nation was the sovereign, the Law was the work of the Nation, and the King was the servant of both!

In that National Assembly which constituted the new France there were infidels without doubt; but they were patriots and they were wiser than the infidels of our day—they kept their infidelity to themselves, as an infection that should be kept sealed up. And among these devoted patriots were Priests and Bishops—of these first nearly two hundred in the Assembly. Thus it is false to say that the Constitutional Assembly was not Christian. And it is an historical fact which proves their sentiment that that great body refused to accept the dedication of the works of Voltaire, but did accept the dedication of a new edition of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This Assembly did not lack in initiative nor in courage, as has been imputed; and



as to the religious question, it fully understood, and from the first, that it was at the bottom of all other questions. For it well knew that it was impossible to remodel France politically and socially, if the spirit of the old religious *régime* was allowed to submit. And it was for this reason that the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" was created—for which, by the by, we have not to make apologetic defence—as the greatest Bishop of the Constitutional Church, Henri Gregoire, himself refused to do so.

Only this I can say, that this Civil Constitution of the Clergy while it may have been an error, was evidently a great preparation—and while it may be said it was a misfortune for politics to thus interfere in religious matters, it offers for excuse the traditional past of France—the intervention of secular power in the affairs of religion dates from that greatest of Christian Emperors—Constantine. The Capitulars of Charlemagne did not only form the civil code but the Ecclesiastical Law of Carlovingian France.

I know very well that this may not accord with the prejudice of some liberal minds of our day, but when we have studied cause and effect in the historical movements of the world, and in the spirit of Truth and Justice, before that Source from whom all light cometh, we should speak out frankly when we speak at all; and I therefore do not hesitate to say that I believe that secular intervention in the management of religious affairs has sometimes been necessary. It was, in fact, in this case of the National Assembly a great act of reparation. Right had been ignored and justice trodden under foot.

A little more than two centuries before 1789—it was in 1517—there was a King of France possessed of a distinguished mind, but sceptical and licentious—François I., and at the same time there was a Pontiff in Rome who was also an eminent man, and who was also—let us say—a worldly man—Leon X. And as is often done between the rulers of men, these two—Pope and King—bestowed upon each other gifts that belonged to neither! The election of Bishops, that ancient right of the Church, as eminent Catholic theologians can testify to, belonged neither to the civil nor to the ecclesiastical power—it belonged to the clergy and Christian people. Nor did the confirmation of the Bishops elected by the people in the ancient Church belong to the Roman Pontiff, from the fact that the Church had no Roman Pontiff. There was a Bishop of Rome, and it was only after

a considerable lapse of time and a necessary development in the government of the Church, that there was in that city a modest Primate of the West, with whom were associated four other Patriarchs in the East. And Church history proves that confirmation was not bestowed by Rome. When the people had elected their Bishop he was presented to the Metropolitan for confirmation. But in spite of antiquity and the universality of this custom, in the year 1517 the King of France set it aside, and obtained from the Pope, whose power had unduly increased, the permission to name the Bishops himself. And in their negotiations the King took the lion's share, for he who has the right of naming the Bishops governs the Church. As a counterbalance of power, the Pope was accorded the right of confirmation. The Metropolitan yielded his prerogative for worldly reasons, and Simony held out hands filled with gold: Rome was richly paid for all her concessions, and she became possessor of the prebendal and fiscal rights of the Church. And finally this King and this Pope, enveloped in their royal and pontifical robes, which were mantles of scepticism and voluptuousness, paid France for their usurpation and their booty, with the Concordat of François I., which was the destruction of the Pragmatical Sanction of Charles VII., who was the promoter of the Gallican Church.

Thus was the Church of France stripped of her liberties. Christ, too, was stripped of His tunic, but those who crucified Him dared not tear asunder the sacred garment. But here those who claimed to act in His name did not hesitate to tear asunder the robe of His Spiritual Body, giving one part to Rome and the other to Paris! And this is what is called the Divine Constitution of the Church! And there are not wanting Ultramontane Catholics and Roman Bishops in our day who cry at us in our laborious attempts of bringing the French Church back to her old liberties, her old prerogatives and her old Faith—accusing us of changing this Divine Constitution, forsooth! Are we then to be blamed when in our indignation and in our despair we cry back, "O, ye hypocrites, you have added to this work of your destruction the apology of falsehood!"

The National Assembly, which afterward was called the Constituent Assembly, possessed the power of the sovereign people, as well as the right, and I do not hesitate to say, the duty to break this iniquitous act of Simony.

It possessed the right and the duty to give back to the Christian people of France their religious liberty, and to take the Church out of the strangling hands of the State and restore her to itself.

It was pretended that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was an invasion on the part of the State—the servitude of the Church, but this is inexact. The State continued to pay the Church its salary in compensation for the Church property it had appropriated.

As to the nomination of Bishops, the State abandoned this prerogative to the Church, which had the right (and of which the State is so jealous to-day!), and at the same time this nomination was taken away from Rome, who thus lost her jurisdiction over the Church of France, which at last was restored to herself. And in this we find the first most fruitful principle of the French Constitutional Church.

But there are persons who ask how this Constitutional Church could call itself Catholic when it was no longer dependent upon Rome? The answer is very simple: because in throwing off the government of the Pope it did not withdraw from intercommunion with the Church of Rome—which is quite another thing.

And this leads us very naturally to that prejudice, or rather, that blindness, of a majority of Catholics of our day, not only Papists or Ultramontanes, but of many liberal Catholics, who constantly exclaim, "But how can you be Catholic if you are separated from the Pope?" So has it come to pass that from simple communion in the past with the Roman Church there must be now-a-days a complete abdication of all true believers into the hands of its Bishop! This is more than blindness, it is spiritual paralysis, a disease so insidious that not only weak but even strong and loyal natures are vanquished by it. And it is this dangerous but delightful and melancholic malady which disarms many liberal Catholics and reduces all their generous enthusiasm for political liberty and religious reform to a perpetual illusion and to eternal impotence.

Those who resist the authority of the Pope in these days are not resisting a legitimate authority, for the authority concentrated in the Bishop of Rome is usurped, and therefore illegitimate.

Now it would be as foolish as untrue to deny that the Papacy has frequently been a strong and beneficent power for doing good in the world, but this does not prove that

that power is not an usurpation, and has been so since Pope Nicholas I. The Papacy has no foundation in the words of Christ nor in the Apostolic institution. Nor has it any place in the history or traditions of the Church of the first centuries. Throughout that epoch the Bishop of Rome was only a simple Bishop like the others, who watched over and governed the Church. And Jesus Christ made no mention nor had any thought of the Papacy when He said to Peter, who had first of all His disciples and with such sublime emphasis confessed the Christian Faith in all its amplitude and perfection: "*Thou art the Son of the Living God!*" Then Jesus answered, "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church," which being correctly translated reads: "Thou art named Rock" (for in the language in which Jesus spoke, as in several modern tongues, French, Italian, etc., Peter and "rock" or "stone" are spelled and pronounced exactly the same, making a play upon the word which it is impossible to give in English). "And since you have thus confessed the True Faith, the great fundamental truth of Christianity, this *Faith* which is *your* faith, shall be the foundation of my Church and shall remain throughout all time, and Hell itself shall not overthrow it!" It is not difficult for a careful mind to see that this saying of Christ had nothing to do with the personality of Peter, but only with the great Faith he had been the first to confess. And if Peter was the first Pope, as the Roman Catholics claim, he certainly was not infallible, for we have proof that immediately after his sublime confession he fell into the greatest of all heresies—he denied the Christ.

And as surely as this divine and infallible faith has been transmitted down to all believers, so has the human fallibility of Peter been transmitted all along the line of the Apostolic Succession from the coasts of Cesarea Philippi to the banks of the Tiber, culminating in our day in the great heresy of Pius IX. and the Roman Episcopate, and which outweighs the apostasy of Peter as ten thousand to one. Neither in this glorification by the Divine Master of the new-born Christian Faith, nor among all the Fathers of the Church, is there anything that resembled an institution of Rulership or any sort of Spiritual Sovereignty which might with the lapse of time develop into a temporal monarchy—absolutely nothing.

The early and entire Church represented in the Œcu-

menical Councils accepted that among the different Bishops and the diversity of particular Churches there should be centres of Unity, as were Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome, which latter was accorded that modest and beneficent primacy of the early centuries. There were geographical, political and ecclesiastical reasons for this: Rome was the Capitol of the civilized world. And her soil was dyed with the blood of the great Martyrs Peter and Paul. And it was with laws as wise as they were liberal that to Rome was accorded this presidency of the great Republic of Christians, which had aforetime, with like generosity, acclaimed Peter the Elder among his brothers. But that modest presidency differs widely from the absolute sovereignty of one Bishop over all others—over all Priests and Christians; and above all, it differs from Infallibility, which belongs to God alone. But they tell us that Papal infallibility does not imply impeccability of the Bishop of Rome, but “only” infallibility in matters of “doctrine” and “morals,” which is equivalent to saying that it concerns all things, for all things concern “doctrine” in the order of speculation, and all things concern “morals” in the practice of life.

The early Church was a great band of brothers, having no master save in Heaven. And they were a grand people—those early Christians—made free by their baptism, emancipated, humane and Christ-like, given by the Grace of God that luminous intelligence, that superior Faith—the liberty of conscience in justice, and the subjugation of the natural man without his sacrifice; they were a company of brethren and priests who had no intermediary between them and God—a glorious race of kings who, awaiting their kingdom in Heaven, began their reign already on the earth! And it is this people that blind theologians would bring into the servitude of a man, into a spiritual servitude harder and more ignominious than that of Israel or of Islam, and the Church, thank God, our France of the true old days would not accept this servitude. It is true she would have accepted the Pope if he had consented to return to his ancient prerogatives, content with being the center of unity without being master.

When Gregory the Great, Bishop of the French Constitutional Church, wrote to his diocesans of Blois, he said: “I am called to work for the sanctification of your souls while I am working for the sanctification of my own, and I shall never use other language toward you than the aus-

tere language of religion and the proud language of liberty, which alone is worthy of Christians and of Frenchmen."

We see now that the Church of the Revolution gave back to the Christian people of France the rightful election of their pastors, and reconquered her righteous jurisdiction, usurped by Rome. And as to her symbol of Faith, the glorious Nicene Creed, she confessed it in all its integrity. And if she was timid concerning Reform, she at least contained its germs; for the election of her pastors was again in the hands of the faithful, and therefore Reform was possible. But what can we think of those who, either from self-seeking or from ignorance, pretend that this great Ideal of the French Revolution is incompatible with Christianity, when the truth is that the first idea of that Revolution was a return to Christianity. And in seeking religious progress in the present it did not disdain the religious tradition of the past; no Reform, without becoming sacreligious, can touch the Faith in its essentials, and the secret of the Future is the conservation of the Past with the methods of To-day. This is Christian Progress.

The spirit which cried out against the compatibility of the Revolution and Christianity, cries out to-day against that of Republicanism and Christianity.

The Constitutional Church of France lived ten years—from 1791 to 1801—and she had rallied around her the half of French Catholics. Thibaudeau in his history of *Le Consulat et l'Empire* says: "At the moment when the Constitutional Church was on the point of perishing, France numbered thirty-five million souls, divided thus by the statistics: Protestants, Israelites, Theophilanthropists, three millions; outside of all churches or beliefs, four millions; Nominal Catholics, thirteen millions." Seven millions five hundred thousand supported the Constitutional Church, and as many more continued to follow Rome. We must consult the documents of the times to appreciate the rupture of France with Roman Catholicism.

And this Church of France perished suddenly, by a great stroke. She had passed by the three great trials—the Union of Church and State, the Persecution, and the Separation of Church and State. The Constitutional Church began her existence by union with the State—she passed by the Persecution under the Reign of Terror, and the separation was wrought under the Directory.

It is claimed by the partisans of Rome that it was her clergy, who would not take oath of allegiance to the State, who saved religion in France. But while we render all justice to that part of the clergy—and there were priests among them who carried their courage to martyrdom—we must say, in justice to truth, that that faction was the cause of the loss rather than the salvation of religion in France. They identified their cause with that of Royalty, which was overthrown.

As the troublous times went on and the Concordat was concluded between Pius VII. and Napoleon, the most zealous of this party preferred their King to the Pope; and there were thirty-three Bishops among them who, in their turn, founded the Royal Church, which is better known by the name of The Little Church—(*La petite Eglise*)—whose remnant we have with us to-day. But it was the sturdy, unflinching faith of the best part of those Catholics, Christian and patriotic, who composed the National Church, that saved religion in France. And when the Reign of Terror was passed and they were on the brink of destruction, they could point to thirty-four thousand Churches in which they worshipped, when once the prisons had set them free and the guillotine had ceased to lessen their numbers.

It has been said that the First Consul reestablished Catholic worship in France, but this is false and absurd in the face of history; for when Napoleon appeared on the scene as the Restorer of the Church, there existed there thirty-four thousand churches in the hands of Catholics, laymen, priests and bishops, who were no longer attached to the State nor bound to Rome, but who were certainly profoundly attached to the Gospel and to their country.

We must go back for a glance at the Persecution, and it must be rapid, as is instinctively that at a bloody spectacle which sickens the heart. And we fain would pass over in silence what is to every Frenchman and every Christian, by whatever name he may be called, an immense humiliation and a profound sorrow. We will therefore only say that if there were dark spots on the robe of the Constitutional Church of France, that of the Church of the Concordat was dragged in the mire. Atrocities and Abominations joined hands. But God in His terrible justice brings glory out of ignominy, and by the bloody Pontiff of the "Deistic Church"—Robespierre—these mutual persecutors mounted the scaffold together and washed their guilt and

their dragged robes in their martyr blood. May God forgive us all !

The Constitutional Church was inspired with progress, but it was not that of divine liberty, and when some of its clergy and even bishops, in advance of the times, understood the Christian and patriotic necessity of a married clergy, and ventured upon the example themselves—they were decried and disowned. But we must say, in all justice, that it was not the marriage of some of her clergy which brought reproach on that Church, but rather the notorious conduct of a part who were as unworthy of marriage as they were of the sacred character of priests : they profaned both. There were Bishops who, instead of being the guardians of the Faith, denied it. We have only to name one, Gobel, the Bishop of Paris, who had the shameful courage to go before the National Convention and there abjure, in the same breath, his sacred character of Pastor in Christ's Church and the Christian Faith itself. But the Convention paid the sycophant and cowardly renegade with his own blood, for a few days after, his dishonored head fell beneath the blade of the guillotine.

And yet among that National clergy were great and true hearts who gave their tears and their blood for Religion ; and in that Constitutional Church were grand ideas and great acts in spite of her sins,—for there is a human, sinning side to God's Church as there is to His children—and, notwithstanding all this, there was much in that Church which moves our respect and veneration.

This heritage of good and ill has come down to us, Catholic Frenchmen ; and we are still in the midst of troublous times. The Revolution is not yet finished.

And now we will ask, is it possible to act to-day toward the Bishop of Rome as they of the National Church acted in those days ? Can we say to-day with any show of seriousness and without a disloyalty that is repugnant to nature, or without a subtilty more worthy the Byzantine than the Gaulois, that we are determined to live and die in communion with Rome ? What has Rome done for us ? or rather, what has she not done !

Was it not enough that spiritual domination, which Bossuet calls the greatest of all heresies, was imposed upon us ?

Was it not enough that that heresy which the Fathers of the Church stigmatized as the "Heresy of Simony" was practiced openly ?



No ! She has gone still further, and laid violent hands on the sacred treasury of our Faith ! And this has come to pass in our days and under the pontifical rule of a man whose gentle and benevolent nature I can testify to from personal acquaintance, but whose pontificate has been notoriously lacking in theological science, supplanting it by illuminism and ambitious mysticism, out of which have appeared, and are imposed, three new dogmas or articles of Faith.

As S. Paul says: "by Adam all have sinned." And we know that this is true, and without recognizing this original cause, the terrible and guilty depths into which human nature falls could never be explained or remedied. And yet these pretended and pretentious theologians of the nineteenth century and of Pius IX lift up a Divine Virgin, and would force us to believe what we know to be true only of the Divine Son, and that she too was exempt from the original taint which Adam has bequeathed with human blood to all men. And if your christian faith and common sense make it impossible to believe in this new dogma of Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, woe to you, you are excommunicated from the Church of your Baptism, from the Church of your Infancy, from the Church of your Fathers, from the Church of Christ, and condemned to eternal punishment in Hell !

Then comes a man whom we have seen and with whom we have talked, a man like ourselves, made of flesh and blood; a man of like errors, passions and faults, who pretends that whenever he is so disposed he becomes infallible ; and what is more, he imposes this belief upon us as an article of eternal truth !

The third newly invented dogma, and perhaps the most redoubtable, as it passes the least noticed, is that of the Universal Episcopate of the Bishop of Rome. There is henceforth, according to this doctrine, but one Bishop in Christ's Church. All the others are but his lieutenants.

Here are the three new articles of Faith hitherto unknown in all Christendom.

And how are we, Christians and Catholics, expected to live in communion and harmony with this usurping Bishop ? And not only are all Bishops but all Priests obliged to accept and teach these new and unheard-of doctrines. And if perchance laymen are not called upon to testify to their acceptance of these doctrines, their silence will be witness against them and they are thus betrayed. And

we do not hesitate to say that he who keeps silence in the face of such iniquity becomes a participator in what every true Christian who values his Faith and his manly integrity knows to be a crime ! But above all it is the true-hearted and noble-souled priest who suffers most with this terrible imposition upon his conscience. For every time he stands at the Altar, dispensing the Sacred Elements, which bring down such marvelous grace upon the believer, he feels that the holy enthusiasm of his faith has become blasphemy. Ah, if there is one suffering keener than all others, it is this : for him who knows himself to be a Minister of Holy Things and the Witness and Defender of God's Truth !

But what is to be done ? Certain it is that we are not to be cured of our ills and evils by Positivism, Materialism, Atheism, Bigotry or Fanaticism. It is not Auguste Conte, nor Zola, nor Renan, nor Darwin, nor the Pope who will bring Frenchmen back to spiritual health. Nor will one or all combined save this republic or bless any other regime or government. Then what is to be done ? We must break away from the Unholy Pact, from all these false systems, vain philosophies and debasing negations, and come back to Reason, to Common Sense and to Truth. Our Ultramontane or Roman Catholic Brothers must open their eyes, examine the questions and opinions and say to superstition, "I will have no more of this covering up of God's truth ;" and to the Pope, "I will respect you but I will not fall down and worship you."

Our liberal Catholics must break with compromising silence and take time to examine the Religious question in all its bearings—political and social—and then, too, have the courage to say what they think. If there be Atheists—which we ever doubt—let them respect their fellow-men, and above all the faith of woman and the confidence of our little children. And let men be intelligent and recognize throughout, Law, Order, Peace and Prosperity, and throughout all history and society the greatest central event, Christianity.

And lastly, Republicans must learn that to be a free people it is not necessary to be a nation of Free-thinkers, or impious infidels, and that above all other forms of government, the Self-Sustaining, the Democratic, the Republican form has more need than all others of a noble conscience, both of the private individual and of the public officer, and this is only to be obtained by a positive

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religion, by sound doctrine—in short by a Christian Society—the grand confraternity called the Church.

Then and only then will the great French Revolution have borne ripe fruit and this Republic become solid and sure ; and only then will France become again truly great.

**HYACINTHE LOYSON.**

## REVISION OF THE COMMON PRAYER.

**I** HAVE been asked by the Editor of this REVIEW to contribute a paper to the discussion of the movement for improving our Liturgical Services, by enriching them with additions, and by introducing more flexibility in their use,—a movement which is sometimes rather loosely spoken of as a Revision of the Prayer Book. In complying with this request it will not be supposed that I can bring to the discussion any aids of liturgical learning. Nor do I expect to contribute much that will be original or new, if such contributions were likely to be practically useful. I suppose that the best service which I can render will be to state simply and plainly how the matter strikes a layman, who belongs to that class in our Church, who sympathize with the freer thought and the fearless though reverent criticism of the present day, and who while they have no sympathy with what is known as Ritualism, either in its outward appearances, or in its inward signification, have, at the same time, no desire to reduce our ritual to a uniform coldness and plainness.

We encounter in the outset the question, what justification have we for doing anything with the Liturgy ; what occasion is there for any change ? There are always a large number of people who think, or rather feel, that sound

Churchmanship must be conservative, and that to be conservative a man should resist every change, because it is a change; that what was good enough for our fathers, is good enough for us, and we had better let well enough alone. A certain class of persons, moreover, can see no merit in any changes, except changes backward; the reproduction, as far as possible, of some previous age, which, as they dimly see it in history or fable, seems to them to have exhibited the perfection of what a Church ought to be. This, however, we may take it for granted is not the purpose, and is not to be the result of the present movement.

But it is well to understand the precise conditions of the problem with which we are dealing. A Liturgy is not a deposit of doctrine, once delivered, and to be forever preserved intact. It is something for use, the vehicle of prayer and praise and thanksgiving, for all sorts and conditions of men. It is, of course, designed for the use of Christian people at the time when it is framed. The needs of mankind are indeed the same in all ages, but their methods of expressing these needs may vary exceedingly, among different nations, and in different ages. Christian worship is quite different now from what it was in the days of the Apostles, and among the people whom they taught; and there is no reason why it should not be. Christian congregations exchanged the upper rooms of the earliest days for the Catacombs of Rome, then came the Basilicas of the Empire, and afterwards the Cathedrals of the Middle ages, and, at length, the Parish Churches of more recent times. The congregations themselves became widely different as time went on, until we come to assemblies made up of English peasantry, and now to this new and greater England of the New World. We, in this country, are dealing with a young conglomerate nation, a people whom we may consider untaught or half-taught, but who are above all things keen and active minded. We are so placed and circumstanced that a great part of our work is true missionary work. These things we cannot afford to forget in considering questions of ritual.

If a Church is to provide a form of worship to be used by, and not merely for, different sorts of men, and in widely varying circumstances, it should not prescribe always the same form. What is suited to one generation or one country, may not be so to another, and what is the best for one class, or in certain conditions and circumstances, may be quite unsuitable for other people, or in a different

place. The rubric of necessity, or what some clergyman call the rubric of common sense, has always been found too strong for written rubrics.

The English Common Prayer Book has adapted itself to conditions and uses utterly unlike anything which its framers could have imagined. The framers of that Service Book, accustomed to a people of rude habits, scanty learning and little ambition for change or improvement, could have had no conception of the places and times, or the people where we are using their work to-day. That their work has thus answered the needs of other lands and other times, that it is indeed a "possession forever," shows what a wonderful compilation and composition it is.

Some of the reasons for this are not far to seek. Our prayers are not spoken to an audience. Our Liturgy is not constructed to express a system of doctrine, but for worshippers who may hold various systems of doctrine, unitedly to use. We need not fear to admit the fact, that men holding widely different views of Christian doctrine as well as discipline, may take the words of our Liturgy on their lips, and utter them from their hearts, while, at the same time attaching different meanings to what they say. Why should it not be so? It is so with Holy Scripture and its use, and it may be evidence of the likeness of a formulary to the inspired writings that it possesses a like capacity.

The framers of the English Prayer Book made use of treasures old and new that were at their command. The piety of ages had accumulated collects, hymns, services, formularies, which had been growing by accretions, from century to century, but they did not fear to remould, not merely the order of the service, but the service itself. They did not seek to reproduce some ancient mode of worship, of a particular age or particular set of men, but to make a Service Book fitted to be used in their time, in the world as they saw it and knew it, and by the people around them. To this end they used the words and the forms of all that had gone before them, whenever they found these words satisfying, and they added of their own, whatever was necessary to make their work complete. If we make any changes in the frame-work of our Liturgy, or in the method of its use, we should only do it to make our worship more elevating, more edifying, and more real to the people of our own country and of our own age, and not to bring back what was elevating and real to the people of other times and other countries.

As time goes on, and materials increase, and needs develop, the Christian Church ought to be able to make better and better liturgies. If the spirit of the Master abides in His Church, that Church must contain in every age men who can do what has been done all along in its history, by those to whose labors we have succeeded. I think we should not hesitate to assert that our Service Book is a better and a more perfect liturgy for common prayer, than any of the liturgies before it, no matter from what ages they came or by what venerable names they are dignified.

I shall not enter upon any controversy as to the respective merits of the present English Prayer Book, and the Prayer Book of Edward VI.,\* or whether the men and the times of the earlier, or the later stages of the English Reformation, were best fitted to produce an English Book of Common Prayer. I know that to some minds the first Book seems richer than the second, in that it is supposed to emphasize more distinctly a certain class of doctrines. To others it may appear a gain that there should be more latitude and comprehension. But, however this question may be decided by any one, and I sincerely hope that it will not be a question to be decided at all in connection with this revision, I think the judgment of American Churchmen, with rare exceptions, is that the changes in our own Prayer Book, from the present English book, are greatly for the better. This is enough for my present purpose, to show that a Liturgy can and should be altered to meet changes of times and people, and that there have been men in our own country, and almost in our own day, competent to revise and correct even the Book of Common Prayer. We all accept our Communion Service as richer and better than the English. The changes in the Burial Service are for the better, and I presume nobody in this country would wish the English Marriage Service substituted for ours. The omission of the Communion Service is a gain and not a loss. And I may be allowed to say that the omission of the so-called "Athanasian Creed" showed the wisdom of our American fathers. This opinion may be expressed with the more confidence after the action of the House of Bishops at the last General Convention. A resolution to restore the "*Quicumque vult*" to a place within the covers of our Prayer Book,

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\* Lectures on the Prayer Book of Edward VI., by the Rev. Morgan Dix, S.T.D. New York, 1881.

was met by the wise and venerable Bishop of New York with a motion to lay the proposal on the table: but the House of Bishops, apparently not content with that, expressly rejected the resolution. We may trust, therefore, that the proposal to restore this Creed, which has heretofore proved fatal to attempts to practically improve our services, will not disturb the peace of the present movement. Few of us would be prepared to admit that the faith of our Church in the Trinity or the Incarnation is seriously weakened. And I believe the sober judgment of Clergy as well as Laity, if it could act uninfluenced by prejudice or partizan zeal, would hesitate to assert that there would be any protection against doubt or infidelity, in the repetition of a creed which was composed by an unknown Latin author, centuries after the time of the great Greek father whose name it bears, so that its title is really a pious fraud, and which begins and ends with the declaration that unless a man believe, not only the Trinity and the Incarnation, but its metaphysical definitions and explanations of these truths, he must perish everlastingly. I know that the opinion has recently been expressed in a most distinguished quarter, that the exclusion of this creed is a loss, and that if it had stood in our Book, and been constantly repeated in our services, there would not have been the growth of Unitarianism that we have seen in New England. It is such a suggestion from such a quarter and in connection with the present movement, that induces me to allude to a subject which every one who desires the success of the present attempt as a practical thing, must hope will remain where the House of Bishops have left it. With great deference to the authority upon whose suggestions I have been remarking, it does not seem to me to be the teaching of reason or experience, that a generation which was driven from the faith by a rigorous application of the doctrine of verbal inspiration, a literal interpretation of scripture and textual construction, resulting in the Calvinistic scheme, could have been attracted or retained, by an attempt to impose by anathema not merely the doctrine of the Creed, but a particular method of explaining those doctrines.

But has all wisdom, all skill in the use of materials, all the spirit that breathes in our formularies died out of our Church? We can hardly admit this. If it were necessary to provide for the composition of entire new forms of prayer, I should have no fear but that we could find living bishops and



clergy, who could utter our devotions, in language in no respect unworthy to be placed alongside the Book of Common Prayer. Not to believe this would seem to imply a lack of faith as well as courage. And I may be allowed to say, that it seems to me that we can look for the greatest power and success in such labours, and indeed in every enrichment of our Liturgy, to those who are called High Churchmen, if they will only start with the principle, that their work is to enliven devotion, and not to emphasize doctrine.

But why meddle with the Prayer Book at all, why do anything? A sufficient answer might be, because the Prayer Book has in point of fact already been meddled with, and a great many things have been and are done, without authority, in accordance to no rule, and sometimes without discretion. Individuals are attempting in their own way, and some in one way, and some in another, to make our services both richer and more flexible.

If things go on as they are going, we shall soon see, as Dr. Huntington observes, as many "uses" as we have Dioceses, or Provinces, if these are to come. Let any one who can remember forty years ago, compare any service that could have been found then, with the ritual that will be found in the large majority of our Churches to-day. No one can deny that there has been a marked change, in the direction of more ornate and stately services. Music and decorations, flowers and lights, processions and processions, and many other things, have been added, until many elderly people, no doubt, sigh for the simplicity to which they were accustomed in their younger years.

But this change is not a capricious thing, or an accidental fancy. Nor is it simply the result of the wishes or the influence of the clergy. It is part of a movement of the age. It is not confined to our own Communion. All denominations of Christians are coming to use symbolic decorations in their churches, and form and ceremony in their worship. Presbyterians and Congregationalists keep Christmas and Easter, have services of song, chant Glorias and Te Deums, and adorn their houses of worship with evergreens and flowers, in a profusion that would startle even the Churchmen in Virginia. We could not expect, when all around were in motion, that our own fold, of all others, should be still.

The trouble is that our movement has been individual, and without government or direction. Not many years

ago we had no hymns, and the Psalms were unknown in their proper use in worship, except after they had been murdered by being turned into rhyme. Now we have not only a Hymnal, and chanted psalms and anthems in general use, but in some places Latin Hymns have been introduced. Thirty years ago a young clergyman then in Deacon's orders, was kept for months from the Priesthood, and almost turned out of the Church, because he had, one may also say thoughtlessly, certainly with no deliberate doctrinal purpose, used a modification of the prayer for the dying, in commemoration of a distinguished citizen who had just died.\* To-day, it is said, that the Rector of at least one prominent city church, frequently if not habitually, uses this prayer at the burial of the dead. Facts might be multiplied to show the changes which have come over us. Some will call them an advance, others a retrogression. I am only at present concerned to show that there is a movement, and that the shackles upon men's feet, may have produced some excessive and some fantastic movements.

It is still more material to consider the great variety of services which prevail at this day, among different con-

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\*The incident to which I refer was so singular an episode in the history of one who afterwards became one of our most distinguished clergyman that I may be pardoned for giving its details. The Clergyman referred to was the late Dr. Washburn. He was in Deacon's orders and was in charge of the Parish at Newburyport, Mass.. The time had been set for his advancement to Priest's Orders. The ordination was to take place in his own Church, and one or two others, probably friends of his, were to be ordained with him. Just before the time arrived, Andrew Jackson, the Ex-President of the United States, died. Mr. Washburn's New England training had given him a habit of respect for authority and its holders, and a sense of the propriety of the Church taking some heed of public affairs and passing events. The death of one who had borne a marked part in the history of our Government seemed to him to deserve some notice. It should be said that he had forsaken the Congregationalist ministry for our Church, not from a belief in the exclusive validity of Episcopal Orders, nor led merely by an admiration of our Prayer Book and Services, but from a conviction that the simplicity and comprehensiveness of the creeds and standards of the Church made it really a Church and not a sect.

On this occasion, looking through the Prayer Book for some form suitable for the occasion he struck upon the Commendatory Prayer for the dying, in the office for the visitation of the sick. Without much reflection, undoubtedly without intending to commit himself to a doctrine or practice of prayers for the dead, Mr. Washburn introduced this prayer, with some modification, into the Morning Service

gregations professing to use the same Liturgy, in different parts of the country, perhaps in the same city, under a system which apparently is intended to restrict every congregation to one identical mode of worship. We have Churches in which are exhibited ceremonies which our fathers would hardly have believed could be found lurking between the covers of the Prayer Book. While beside them are Churches in which the services are as plain as they used to be in the last century. And you need not cross the continent, to find jurisdictions where the slightest

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in his Church. The incident came near being fatal to his advancement and the termination of his career. A prominent lawyer of Boston happened to be present. He reported what had occurred to the Standing Committee of the Diocese, and to Bishop Eastburn who was then its Diocesan. It was in the year 1845, when many were over-disturbed and alarmed by the Oxford Movement. The Massachusetts authorities were keen to follow the scent of a Deacon whose Protestant orthodoxy was suspected. The young Clergyman was summoned by the Bishop to account for his conduct. He gave his explanation and disavowed any purpose of advancing unsound views, and he was led to believe that his explanation was satisfactory. But before the day set for the ordination, the Bishop and his advisers had again taken alarm, and upon the arrival of the Bishop in Newburyport, the day before that for the ordination, he notified Mr. Washburn that his fellow deacons would be ordained, but he would not. The sequel showed how the qualities which in after-life made him a power among men, had already developed themselves. He was, of course, utterly cast down and felt as if the door of his calling was shut in his face. But his people took up his cause. His vestry met and resolved that unless their minister was ordained no one should be in their Church. When the Bishop persisted in his refusal to ordain Mr. Washburn the vestry closed and locked the Church, and prevented any service from taking place; and the Bishop and his Clergy went back to Boston without entering its doors. It was not, I think until a year, certainly not until many months after this, that the difficulty was overcome, and the Bishop consented to ordain the young Clergyman. The iron entered deep into his soul, and the scar was not healed, for the effect was manifest in the relations between him and Bishop Eastburn and the School in the Church to which he belonged. But I may be allowed to add to my narrative that it is a proof of the clearness of Dr. Washburn's convictions and the self-poise of his mind, that the treatment which he received from the Low Churchmen, harsh and unjust as he thought it, did not throw him, as it would have done many men, into the opposite School with which he was accused of fraternizing. He continued to the end of his life to follow the same line of thought which had brought him into our Communion. And whatever may have been his private opinion as to the state of the departed or the permissibility of prayer in their behalf, he never in his public administrations broke the reserve which our Church has maintained on these questions.

additions to ornaments is forbidden by ecclesiastical authority.

I wish it to be understood that I am not finding fault with the existence of varieties of service, or desiring to stretch everybody on one Procrustean bed. On the contrary, it seems to me that our Church can wisely permit somewhat of the same comprehensiveness in ritual, that she does in doctrine, and that there should be some opportunity for men of different moods and temperaments, to worship at her altars. But it does seem unbecoming that what is looked upon as a most laudable method of devotion in one part of the Church, should be forbidden by Episcopal authority in another. It must also be manifest that if such changes as we are witnessing are left entirely to individual discretion, we cannot say where the limit of change will be found.

I have dwelt upon these considerations not only to show that what it is proposed by this movement to accomplish in an orderly and regulated method, is getting done just as individual fancy may dictate, and sometimes in a way to bring law and authority into contempt, but for another purpose. The facts and considerations which I have advanced, show that we have reached a period when there is a real need of additions to the Liturgy, and of more flexibility in its use. The desire for the first is proved by the movement towards more ornate services, of which what is called Ritualism is the expression among a certain class. The necessity for more flexibility would, I imagine, be admitted by every Parish clergyman, who will look at the matter without allowing his vision to become clouded by mists of ecclesiastical prejudice, either of one kind or another.

There is a class of persons who desire and seem to need all the ceremony and ritual possible. They should not, however, have it given to them in the Church, in forms which express doctrines which, if permitted to individuals, are not prescribed, and which a large body of Clergy and Laity reject. Nor, on the other hand, should they be driven out of the Church to find what they crave. For this class, especially, we ask for enrichment, by adding to the Prayer Book hymns and anthems and collects, and special services for special occasions.

There are, again, places and times and congregations, for which, even shorter and simpler services, than can rubric-

ally be made out of our present formularies, are the only services which can be made practically useful.

The corporation of Trinity Church, New York, use part of their ample means in producing a constant service which is imposing and impressive, with music, ceremony and ornament. These daily prayers are a comfort and help to many souls, and no one should fail to recognize that such services answer a real need. But in this same Church, during penitential seasons, there have been services where an earnest preacher, without other preface than a collect or two, preached to a crowd of persons, who were doubtless, quite different from those who attended the ordinary services, and most of whom, probably would not have come to, or found satisfaction or benefit in, a longer or more elaborate service.

On last Good Friday, in one of the principal churches in this city, and one as far as possible from Ritualism or any of its approaches, at the conclusion of the Morning Service, the Rector announced that the Church would remain open for private prayer and meditation during the entire day, and that at a certain hour he would be present, and read the penitential psalms. It was a simple and yet a fitting sanctification of the entire day, and it reached many who would have been unable to attend the full service, or to abstain entirely from worldly business.

Now why should there not be such services in any Church at any time? Why should a man who has a message to deliver, and can bring around him people who will listen to it, be compelled to go through with the whole order for Morning Prayer before he can speak. Of course this would not be permitted to take the place of the regular Sunday Morning Service; perhaps it should always require Episcopal sanction.

Nor does this imply that a preacher on such occasions may use any formularies of devotion, or any liturgical methods other than those prescribed. Only let him use as much or as little of what is set forth for use, as seems meet for the occasion.

I may say here that I do not sympathize with the desire, which was earnestly expressed at the late General Convention, by a large and justly esteemed body of our Clergy, to be allowed to use extemporaneous prayers in public worship. I would suggest to the advocates of such a liberty, that it might result in consequences which they would be the first to deprecate. If clergymen may inter-

ject their own compositions into our services, they may introduce the compositions of others. How would it suit our friends who are anxious for this liberty of prayer, to be compelled to listen to extracts from certain manuals of devotion, which it is well-known are favorites with some of our clergy? We have already the *Stabat Mater*, sung seemingly as a part of our Liturgical worship in certain churches. It is not a great step from the *Stabat Mater* to the *Ave Verum Corpus* and the *Ave Maria*, and that, under a general license in prayer, might soon be followed by something very like an *Ora Pro Nobis*.

Besides, I may be allowed to suggest that practically there is now no difficulty in reaching the desired result. What is to prevent any clergyman from ending his sermon with a prayer or invocation, in which his devotional feelings may have the fullest and freest utterance? It may be said that this is an evasion of the very rule for which I am contending, and might open the door to the very danger I have imagined. It is not impossible that it might become so. But a rule or a rubric which can be evaded, is a better barrier than none at all. And there is a difference between a prayer which is part of a sermon, and a prayer which is authorized as part of a Liturgy. A steady adherence to Liturgical forms is one of our distinctive features. With a richer supply of such forms, steadily increasing and developing for new needs and occasions, and increased flexibility in their uses, I think our clergy of all schools, will be satisfied to limit their individual utterances to the Pulpit.

The performances to which I have referred, the singing of the *Stabat Mater* and the like, besides opening the door to more startling innovations, unless they are regarded as a sort of sacred concerts, are certainly a great stretch of rubrical and Liturgical license, or a proof and result of a want of rubric and Liturgy. If we are to have concerts in churches, let us call them so, or if we need services which resemble what is produced by these performances, let us have some rule to regulate them, which will allow of all needful variety and liberty, without the use or introduction of anything which teaches, or imitates, what our Church does not sanction. Surely we can provide a Liturgy at once so rich and so flexible as to leave no excuse for any imitations of the services of any foreign communion.

I venture to suggest that the remedy for the confusion, if not peril, into which we are drifting, is while giving larger

liberty both by enrichment and added flexibility, at the same time to regulate, and if need be to restrict, so that liberty may not degenerate into license. If to this is added a rule of option, so that neither clergymen nor people shall be compelled to use either a more ornate or a plainer, a longer or a shorter service, because others desire such a service, it seems to me that the work will be done in the true spirit of our Church.

It will be a fatal mistake, in any attempt at liturgical change, to lose sight of the comprehensive character of our Church. We are not a body holding or teaching a complete system of doctrines over and above the Creeds, either, for instance, the sacerdotal and sacramental system called by its adherents "Catholic", on the one hand, or the systems elaborated in Protestant Confessions, Calvinistic or Arminian, and called "Evangelical", on the other, and only tolerating the presence of those who do not agree to these dogmas. No doubt there are among us those whose standard of Protestant orthodoxy would exclude from sympathy if not from communion, many who perhaps come nearer to the truth and spirit and methods of our Church and Prayer Book than themselves. Another set of men think that they hear the Church, when they seem to others really to be listening to the echo of their own voices. Having thus persuaded themselves that they have behind them an authority which others cannot claim, they act as if they only tolerated the presence of those who cannot accept their teachings, either because they do not like to do without their contributions, or out of pity for the weakness of men who cannot reach their heights of sound doctrine, or because in the decay of discipline and in the divided state of the Church, there is no power to exclude them. But this is not the true principle or character of our Church, as I think must upon consideration be admitted, even by those who may perhaps think that it ought to be. The Church to which we belong does not merely tolerate either, or any of the schools of opinion which are found within her borders, widely differing as we know they do, but comprehends them all. She is not a Church tolerant of error, but a Church comprehensive of doctrine.

This feature of our Church is an element of her strength. It attracts men into our Communion, as that of a Church and not a sect. And the tendency at this day to simplify credenda is as marked among other Protestant bodies, as

the tendency to increased forms and symbols and ornament in their Churches and worship.

At the last synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church, a leading Classis, headed by an able and excellent minister, presented a petition for some modification of their terms of communion. It was a revolt against imposing as a condition of admission to their fellowship, the full acceptance of the tenets of Calvinism. The very conservative body to whom the request was addressed shrank from entertaining such a revolutionary request. But it was an entering wedge, and the hard wood may split at last.

The Congregationalists have selected their wisest and best men to frame a creed, apparently intending to replace their systematic doctrinal standards with something broader and simpler. It is difficult indeed, to see how an aggregate of independent churches can have a creed. If the wise and good Congregational divines, who are charged with the present work, should have the wisdom to fall back upon what we know as the Apostles or the Nicene creeds, neither they nor all the congregations of their fellowship could make them creeds of their Communion. No matter what action was taken, there would be, in the nature of things, nothing to prevent any particular church from adding to its creed or terms of communion anything which it might fancy, such as total abstinence from liquors, or from dancing, or from certain amusements, or from church fairs, or lotteries, and certainly nothing to prevent their reinstating the five points of Calvinism. But the movement is a sign of the times, and signs of the movement of the human mind in our day, should be studied and not scorned.

Our Church alone occupies the wise, Christian and truly Catholic position, of insisting upon the simple ancient Creeds containing the fundamental facts of Christianity, and allowing her members, in all things beyond and outside these, the largest liberty of opinion, and it is upon a like principle that our Liturgy is framed. No man can attend worship conducted by extemporaneous utterances, without meeting constantly the doctrinal ideas of the minister. And, on the other hand, no man can unite in the worship of the Church of Rome, without adopting her doctrine of the priest, the mass and its "dreadful sacrifice", with all their consequences. But our Liturgy can be used by men of all the grades and schools of opinion which the Church allows within her borders. You may say that this is a compro-



mise. If so then the Church itself is a compromise. I would call it a comprehension. And it is a comprehension which comes nearer to the model of the primitive Church, as far as we can make it out, and, at all events, to the model of a true Catholic Christian Church, than the imposition of missals or prayer books, which cannot be used except by believers in a fully fledged sacerdotal system.

From this comprehensive character of the Church, as well as from the widely varying and ever changing circumstances, and congregations among which the Church has to do its work and use its services, in a country like ours, it seems to me to result that all additions which are made and all modifications in the use of formularies or services, which are introduced, should be left entirely optional. As I have already said there should be a large liberty of choice, a generous recognition of the rights of all, and the duty of the Church to all. But the extent of this liberty should be regulated and confined to certain limits, that it may not become license. This duty of restriction results from the principle of comprehension. The liturgy of the Church is for all sorts and conditions of men; for all classes and schools of opinion, not merely to listen to, but to join in. The formularies or the mode of worship should not therefore, be such as to compel a man who unites in it, to accept and profess doctrines which he has a right to disbelieve, and yet be a faithful member of the Church. Take, for instance, the central service of Christian worship. Probably there are those among us who hold such a doctrine of the Eucharist, as seems to them and to others, to lead fairly to the adoration of a Divine Presence, which according to their belief, follows what they consider the consecrating act of a priest. But if such views may be held as matter of individual opinion, and if their holders may adore the Presence in which they believe, which I am not concerned to deny, they must not make the Liturgy, or the method of stating it, such as to compel every one who unites in its use, to unite in the adoration, and to profess a doctrine which they have no right to compel them to believe. This is one thing against which the Canon concerning the use of the Book of Common Prayer is aimed, when it forbids the elevation of the elements in the Holy Communion, so as to expose them as objects for adoration, and all bowings, genuflections or prostrations. I have taken an extreme case to clearly illustrate the principle. Let me mention another application of the

same view. Take the instance to which I have referred, of the use in public worship of a prayer set forth for the dying, converted into a prayer for the dead. I do not find that our Church has ventured to pronounce upon the state of the departed, in any such manner as to repress what seems a natural instinct of affection, to follow, after death, those who have been loved in life, with hopes and wishes, and if with hopes and wishes, then with prayers. It seems to some a very narrow rule of orthodoxy, which will instruct a minister of the Gospel to pray for the soul of one *in extremis*, so long as it is yet in the act of departure, in the very agony of death, although that soul may be past all sight, hearing or consciousness, but will compel him to close his book, and cease his intercession the instant that the physician, with his finger on the dying man's pulse, announces that it has ceased to beat. Many Churchmen would perhaps make no complaint if we had a burial service that said more for the departed spirit, and perhaps less for the perishing body. Such men would not be entirely of those who desire prayers for the dead, because they were used by early Christians, or because they were retained in the Prayer Book of Edward VI. But while our Church, following the Church Catholic and let us humbly trust her Divine Master, may not have forbidden hopes and desires for those who have gone out of our sight, but not out of the keeping of the Father of all souls, neither has our Church received or professed any doctrine of prayers for the dead; or permitted their use as a part of public worship. There are many among us to whom their use would be a stumbling block and an offence. And these have their rights as well as others. Not only, therefore, does the use of such devotions in public worship seem to me an unauthorized act of individual license, as the service and the rubrics now are, but the addition of such forms or the introduction of express authority for their use would be in conflict with the principle upon which I have been dwelling.

It is understood that the Committee of the General Convention having the matter in charge have adopted for their guidance a resolution to the effect that they will not sanction or recommend any alteration which either by addition or omission will alter any doctrinal statement of the present Liturgy. We may accept this as the statement of a rule which will lead to a real work of comprehension and adaptation. It will give ample opportunity to adapt our

services more fully to our work ; to enable us to meet the varying wants, the changing circumstances, if you will, the feelings and inclinations of our American people of this day. It can be done, and to be at all successful it must be done, without giving reasonable cause for offence in any quarter, and without changing what are claimed to be the doctrinal utterances of the Prayer Book as it is, in any direction.

I will not leave this general discussion of the principle which should be followed in the present movement, without citing an authority, whose weight will be recognized in every quarter, in support of the views which I have endeavored to maintain. In the General Convention of 1826 a movement was made for Liturgical reform, looking at once to greater latitude and to greater exactness. It did not contemplate any serious innovations. The time had not come for any wants like those which are now making themselves felt. The Protestant Episcopal Church was at that day a small and highly respectable body, which had been obliged to contend with serious prejudices growing out of its origin, and seemed little likely to become more than a congregation of such Christian people as desired the profession and exercise of their religion in a peculiarly quiet, orderly and decorous manner. It gave little indication of that aggressive character which was to press it upon the American people, as a comprehensive and active Church, which is eminently fitted for them all. Nevertheless, the instincts of growth were even then beginning to be felt. The General Convention, however, responded to them in a feeble and hesitating way. The movement at last was defeated, by a combination of those who were alarmed by the suggestion of any change or relaxation on the one hand, with those on the other who were unwilling to be controlled in the liberty which they were using, to make the service as bald as possible. The grievance of the latter party was that they objected to being compelled to read the Ante-Communion service on every Sunday morning. The objections of the opposite school were to shortening or simplifying anywhere ; a dread of any change because it was a change. There was also resistance to a proposed change in the Confirmation office, which would have been in the direction of breadth and comprehension.

I refer to this part of our history, to cite the language of Bishop Hobart in reference to that movement, for the sake

of its bearing on the general subject of liturgical revision. In his address to the convention of the diocese of New York in the year 1827, Bishop Hobart called attention to the proposed changes. He said: "What good object is contemplated by these proposed alterations? The answer is, the abbreviation of the Liturgy by law, so as to remove all reasons for abbreviating it contrary to law, the admitting in certain cases of more appropriate lessons, the securing the use of the commandments, collects, epistle and gospel, and the rendering the preface to the Confirmation service more full, better adapted to the state of things in this country, and the preventing of misunderstanding as to certain expressions in one of the prayers in this office." If to abbreviating in this sentence, were added adorning, the words would be precisely applicable to-day. The demand at present is both for abbreviation and adornment, and it is proposed to do both by law. After describing more in detail the alterations proposed and the reason for them, the Bishop proceeded, among other things to say: "How are innovations to be arrested? By the strong arm of authority? But is this an easy or wise course? When the service is felt and admitted by so many persons to be too long, public sentiment and general practice will more or less sanction abbreviations in it. Would it not be wise to remove, as far as possible, the reasons, real or feigned, for the violation of law, and then to enforce it? Would not such a course be preferred in a civil government? Is it not eminently proper in an ecclesiastical one?" Such counsels were lost upon the Church of 1827; but we may hope for better things in the Church of 1881. We have been growing, I think, not only in numbers but in ideas, and that especially within the last generation.

It will not, I am sure, be regarded as invidious by others, to call Dr. William R. Huntington the leader of the present movement. It proceeded from him in the General Convention, and in a speech of great ability he gave it force and direction. In a still more ample and distinct degree, the article which he contributed to the last number of this *Review*, indicates the scope and spirit of the movement. That paper is inspired by real Catholicity as well as sound Churchmanship, and by a clear comprehension of the needs of our Church and country. There is no magnifying or minimising particular doctrinal views; no admiration of the work of particular divines, because of

the school to which they belonged ; no hankering for change which will push the Church backward or forward.

Dr. Huntington is very conservative in his views of what it is desirable to do or to permit. I am free to say that I should be willing to see the Committee go farther than he suggests in various directions. However, prudence is wisdom, in dealing with such a matter, and certainly nobody can be reasonably alarmed at any additions or alterations, proposed or suggested, by the article in the last number of the *Review*.

It is not my province, and it is beyond my power, to suggest specific additions to be made to any part of our services, or even to indicate sources from which such additions might be derived. The Church may rest assured that the Joint Committee is amply competent for that task. The general principles and proposed outlines of the enrichments proposed will, I think, commend themselves to every one who favors any enrichment whatever.

I will however notice some suggestions which have been made of subtraction and substitution in our formularies.

To begin with the order for Morning Prayer. Why should not anthems or chants, suitable to the season, be distinctly provided, to be permitted instead of the *Venite Exultemus*, not only on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, but throughout Lent? The attempt to make our services appropriate to a penitential season produces remarkable results. We have "O come let us exult", sung to a dolorous minor chant, or, as in one New York Church, the *De Profundis* sung all through Lent, instead of the *Venite*, of course without any authority for it. Then the *Benedicite* is sung in place of the *Te Deum*, although the former is a jubilant song of praise, while the latter contains strains of prayer and penitence. The idea seems to be that the reiteration of a monotonous chant in the many verses of the *Benedicite*, may make the music penitential, although the words are not. The remedy for what Dr. Huntington well describes as a futile effort to transform the *Venite* from a cry of joy to a moan of grief, may be a permission to omit it during Lent. Some remedy it deserves.

There is one suggestion which I will venture to make, touching the order for Morning Prayer, including the Litany. The Litany is a part of our service which is, at least as much as any portion of it, enshrined to our affections. Yet we do not always consider, probably many persons do not understand, the real character of this office.

We look upon it as if it were just a long prayer, coming in its place, among the collects and prayers of the Morning Service. But it is a service by itself, complete in itself. Not of the most ancient date, it was the product of an age when the world seemed so full of suffering and trouble, that men fancied that the last days were upon them. We do not sing or say it with processions and the like demonstrations any more, and perhaps we do not give it its full emphasis, when we reduce it to one among many prayers. There is such a thing as repeating a form so often or in such a manner, as to empty solemn words of their meaning. The practice which has grown up, of using the Litany as a distinct service, is I think a recognition of its real and historical character. The practice which is now adopted in many churches, and I believe in some dioceses, of omitting the Litany on Communion Sundays, when the Morning Prayer and Communion Service are said together, it seems to me, might be expressly permitted. The principle of this is recognized by the old English rubric, allowing the omission of the Litany on certain high festivals. And the Litany will not seem less precious, or be less fervently said, if it is not said on all occasions, no matter how joyful the festival, or how long the service.

Another suggestion is to restore the English rubric, and allow an anthem or a verse of a hymn, to be sung before commencing the Litany. It is easy to see why this was left out of our Prayer Book after the Revolution. Probably no one thought then of seeing any churches among us, which could properly be described, in the language of the English rubric, as "Quires and places where they sing," in which alone anthems were permitted. There were not many such places in the Mother Church then. As for hymns neither we nor they had any. There has been adopted of late in many Churches a practice during Lent, of pausing after the last collect before the Litany, and singing a verse of our Litany Hymn—the Congregation remaining kneeling. Now there is no authority for this, it is unrubrical. Nevertheless it is prompted by a true instinct, and it is devotional and inspiring in its effect. It breaks monotony, it rests from a long strain of supplication, it adds a stimulus to devotional feeling, and it emphasizes the solemn supplication which is to follow. Why not sanction and regulate the practice, and allow, (not compel, observe), both here, and at the corresponding point in Evening Prayer, the introduction of an anthem, or of a verse or more of a hymn?

When we come to the order for Evening Prayer, I submit the propriety, when Morning Prayer has been said in a Church, of allowing the omission of the exhortation "Dearly beloved brethren," and the opening of the service with the Sentences, or a processional, or hymn, followed by the Confession, Declaration of Absolution, and the Lord's Prayer, or, by the latter only. Is not the force of this Exhortation weakened by its incessant repetition, every time there is a service in a Church? How many of those to whom it is thus repeated twice a day, really attend to, and are benefitted by it? Would not it be more effectual, and more heeded by a congregation, if they heard it, say once a day or once a week? At all events is not the experiment worth trying, by giving clergy and congregations the option of making it? If, as Bishop Hobart told us in 1827, the demand of the people for shorter services is sure to be answered, regularly or irregularly, what can better be omitted in the circumstances referred to, than this Exhortation? I venture to say few clergymen do not sometimes yield to the temptation to omit it or shorten it.

With what Dr. Huntington says of the necessity, or the wisdom of allowing a shortened week-day service I heartily agree. I know we meet every now and then with an outburst of sentiment, about the beauty and significance of a clergyman opening his Church, and saying the whole order of Morning Prayer every day, it may be, with but two or three "brethren" present, and those mostly sisters. This is called a protest, and a witness, against the spirit of the age, and an intercession of the Church for the world. This seems to be a great deal more like sentiment than sense. Our Church has set forth no order of service for any such purpose. If our Church recognized and taught a true and proper sacrifice made by a priest, in the office of the Holy Communion, which as we learn by the Prayer Book of Edward VI., was the service which had been "commonly called the mass," although it was neither to be, nor to be called so any longer, and if the daily service directed by our Church was the performance of this office, there might be more color for this fancy. But the daily service prescribed by our Church, is a service of daily Common Prayer. It is not to be said by a minister for the people, but with the people. If fifty people will come to unite in a short week day service, fitly framed and fervently uttered, when you can get but two or three to join day after day, in the order for Morning or Evening Prayer, as it now stands

prescribed, can any reasonable man hesitate about the wisdom of permitting the Church to reach fifty souls a day, instead of five? How many clergymen are there, who do not, in ordinary parishes at least, feel and yield to this necessity, in week day services? As Bishop Hobart said in 1827, "when the service is felt and admitted by so many persons to be too long, public sentiment and general practice will more or less sanction the abbreviation of it." What is sure to be done in some way, had better be done in an orderly way, and in the best way.

Similar observations seem to be justified, with respect to the custom which has become very general, of chanting the responses to the Commandments, or as they are styled in the musical programmes for services which we see in the newspapers, the "*Kyrie Elison*." The rubric says, the people shall after every commandment ask God's mercy and grace. The practice is for the choir to chant the prayer. It would be going too far to say that this practice is meant to be forbidden, and I should be very sorry to see it discontinued. But why should not the rubric be changed so as to recognize its permissibility. If any change were to be made in this part of the service, I imagine that men's minds would turn to permitting, on some occasions at least, the substitution of the Beatitudes for the Commandments. Again in the offertory, the intention certainly seems to have been that the Sentences should be read by the minister, while the alms are collected. The practice is for the minister to read one sentence, and then for the choir to sing whatever they please, and unless the congregation are informed by publication beforehand, probably few of them know what the musicians are singing. Again I say, I do not object to the practice, but would it not be well to recognize it? And would it not also be well to provide offertory hymns and anthems, especially if we are to have introits, to be used instead of metrical hymns, in the interval between Morning Prayer and the Communion Office. As to these last, I do not believe that such a collection of hymns as we are now getting to have, will ever be crowded out of use in our congregations by introits. There is a reform that has often occurred to me, in reference to this part of the service. That is to have the hymns to be sung, indicated, as they are in many foreign Churches, and in some of our own, by signs, conspicuously displayed about the Church, and then let the service proceed at the proper time to the singing



of the designated hymn, without calling on the minister to give it out. This could be easily arranged so that there would be no more need, ordinarily of "giving out" the hymn which is to be sung, than of "giving out" the *Venite* or the *Jubilate*. Where the number of the hymn only is announced, it is simply an unnecessary break in a Liturgical service. But where the clergyman reads the whole hymn, and then the choir or congregation repeat it musically, one cannot help sometimes thinking, especially when the reading is a highly rhetorical recitation, as we often hear it, that the idea is, to see whether the orator or the quartette, can give the poetry most effectively.

The Baptismal office has been a part of the Prayer Book around which controversies have raged. Happily their fires seem to be quenched, at least on our side of the water. Those who do not accept the high Church theories of the Sacraments, are content with such explanations of the formularies, as Bishop Hobart adopted in 1827, in recommending the alternative prayer which the General Convention proposed to permit in the Confirmation Service. If any suggestions are made in respect to this part of the Prayer Book, I submit whether some more fitting conclusion could not be given to this solemn Service, than the sentence, which sounds as much like a rubric as an exhortation, requiring sponsors to bring the child to confirmation, as soon as he can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Catechism. This seems better adapted to the age when it was written, than to our own. I suppose every clergyman has to explain to candidates for confirmation, that this is not all which the Church expects, in order to a due profession of faith and obedience in that rite.

This Confirmation Service again recalls the movement of 1826. Without urging the changes then proposed in the office, it may not be amiss to suggest the study of the movement, in order to see how far men, whose assertion was unflinching, of what were then recognized as High Church opinions were willing to go, for the sake of comprehension and harmonious growth, and of making the Prayer Book more practically useful. In the Convention Address from which I have already quoted, Bishop Hobart called attention to the fact, that the Confirmation Service was framed for a very different state of things, from that which must be found in a country like this. It implies a population which is universally born, baptized and brought up, in the

Church, coming to Confirmation after Baptism, as they come to years of discretion. It is not apt for use among a people who have been strangers to the Church, and who come to the rite as adults, and as those who have been strangers. Dr. Huntington suggests these imperfections, and the way to their cure. Here I will venture to call attention to the rubric at the end of this office, which declares that none shall be admitted to the Communion, until they have been confirmed, or are ready for confirmation. This belongs to an age and country when the Church and the nation were conterminous, and when men might not only be required but expected, to travel from the beginning to the end of their lives, in the old orderly paths. The framers of this Service did not dream of times and countries, where a literal adherence to this rule would shut the doors in the face of thousands of faithful souls, to whom the Master has not denied his grace, and the Church dare not deny Her Sacraments, however she may teach and strive to make them submit to her ordinances. The Communion Office puts no barrier in the way of the acceptance of its invitations, but evil living. We have no inquisitorial examinations into what is called experience, and do not impose the acceptance of any doctrinal system. The rubric to which I refer, is of necessity construed, by reasonable Christian ministers, as applying only to those who are, or intend to be recognized, as belonging to our Communion permanently. But occasionally some over zealous, or over conscientious minister, feels constrained to make use of the power which this rubric gives, in a way which shocks true piety, and repels from the Church devout persons, not of her fold, but who are feeling the attraction of her system and her services. It may be that the clergy do not feel any difficulty from the rubric to which I am referring. The Church and the interests of the Gospel would, I cannot but think, come to suffer no little injury, if it should be literally applied to all Christians.

I have said that our Marriage Service is an improvement upon that in the English Book, but I cannot see the wisdom of the suggestion which seems to be made in the Lectures on the Prayer Book of Edward VI, that it would be an improvement of our office, to add to it the administration of the Holy Communion. Without saying that the connection between the two acts and offices does not seem to be so intimate or essential, that marriage cannot be

sufficiently hallowed by prayer and benediction, without blending with it the celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, it may at least be asked, what is the real intention of the proposal. Is it meant to deny the presence of the ministers of the Church, with her admonitions, prayers and blessings, to all persons who are not ready to come to the Lord's Supper? The result would be, either to turn away multitudes from the use of this office, or to bring them to the most solemn act of Christian worship, much in the same way and in the same spirit as men were driven to the Communion, when its reception was required as a condition of holding office, by the English Test and Corporation Acts.

There is one part of the Marriage Service to which I beg to call attention. The man is made to say, "With this ring I thee wed, and with all my wordly goods I thee endow," and the most solemn adjuration is added. But nothing of the kind is the result of marriage under our laws. Indeed, until the reforms which have been introduced within a few years, it would have been more veritable to have put these words into the mouth of the woman. She did endow the man she married, with all her wordly goods. He could take them all, and leave her penniless, while all with which she was endowed by her husband, was a life estate in one-third of his lands, a support as long as he lived with her, and whatever else he chose to give her. We have changed that indeed, so far as to allow the woman to keep her own, but she gets no more from her husband. This asseveration, which we put into the mouth of the bridegroom, is either unmeaning or untrue.

With what Dr. Huntington says of permitting a freer use of the Psalms, so that not merely the present selections, but any two or more Psalms, may be used in place of the Psalms for the day of the month, I suppose everybody will agree. The Psalms do not follow each other in the Book of Psalms, in an order of date or of subjects. Of course, dividing the whole book as it stands, into portions, one for each day of the month, often brings about an incongruous juxtaposition of subjects, and often makes the Psalter for the day too long. The plan of selections which was introduced in our Prayer Book is a partial remedy, but it will be well to apply the principle more liberally.

The Burial Service needs to be supplemented, as Dr. Huntington points out, by an office for the burial of infants and young children. The restoration of an order for the

celebration of the Holy Communion at Funerals, as used in Queen Elizabeth's time, which we are recommended by Dr. Dix to take from the book of Edward VI., would not, I believe, commend itself to American Churchmen. It will be difficult to explain the peculiar appropriateness of the Eucharist at funerals, without falling back upon the doctrine which lies at the root of the practice of Masses for the dead, from which, in the days of Elizabeth, the Church of England had not quite freed itself. If it is believed and intended to teach, that the celebration of the Holy Communion is a sacrifice, by which the merits and death of our Saviour are presented, or represented, to the Father, in such a way as to be more efficacious than any other act of supplication or prayer, in behalf of a departed soul, then we can understand the desire to introduce this service. If this meaning or belief is disavowed, it will remain for the advocates of such an addition, to explain its especial significance. It will not be contended, that any such recognition of a sacerdotal system, is to be found anywhere in the present book. According to the views upon which the present paper has been written, and which I believe many will endorse, who may not agree with all the writer's opinions, it will not be accepted by the American Church as a satisfactory reason for any additions to our service, that they would set forth more distinctly the views of any particular school, or that they were taken from manuals or formularies which were the product of a time when these views were the general teaching of the clergy, perhaps before the lay people generally had, or could express any opinions upon the subject.

In one practical respect it seems as if the Burial Service, as we have it, might be wisely added to. It will be remembered that the service was prepared for a time and a country, when the actual burials took place in Churchyards immediately about the Churches. All funerals were in Churches, and the whole service could be gone through with, as it is intended to be, with no other interruption than the passing from the interior to the exterior of the Church. In this country all this is for the most part changed. Funeral Services are sometimes held in houses, without going to the Church, often for good and sufficient reasons. Burial places are rarely about the Churches, never in cities or in towns of any size. The result is, that in our great cities the whole service, including what is called the committal, is generally performed in the Church. It is sometimes all said in a house. The actual interment takes place without a

word of prayer or consolation to the surrounding mourners. In the cities this cannot altogether be prevented, although the service thus rendered has something incongruous about it, unless provision could be made for the constant attendance of a clergyman, and perhaps for a Mortuary Chapel, at the cemeteries. It is obviously impossible for the Rectors of city Parishes to accompany every funeral to our distant cemeteries. Occasionally, however in our cities, and I think almost invariably elsewhere, the officiating clergyman goes to the grave, and the committal service is said there, where it belongs. The point to which I wish to draw attention, is the propriety of setting forth a conclusion of the service in the Church, when all of the present office proper after the lesson, is to be said at the grave. It might well consist of the Creed, a hymn or anthem, and suitable collects and prayers. It is well known that the practice of clergymen varies greatly in this matter. I have known one so scrupulous that he dismissed the congregation, which had come to Church to testify their respect for a dead man, but which could not follow his remains a mile further to the burial ground, without a single word except the Sentences, the Psalms and the Lesson, and notice that the remainder of the service would be said at the grave. We have pretty well outgrown that type of conformity. But it might be a relief to recognize the altered circumstances of our day, and to have a service judiciously framed, which might at least be allowed, in cases such as those to which I have referred. Similar reasons might lead to the preparation of a form or order, more or less full or precise, for a funeral at a house.

I will not occupy any more space with suggestions as to details or particulars. The article of Dr. Huntington seems to me to be eminently considerate and thoughtful in its proposals in this respect, and to show a purpose of breadth and comprehension, as well as a thorough understanding of the condition and needs of our Church, and the real object and method of "revising" the Prayer Book.

Our people, the most of them at least, are not very much disturbed by some things which in the mother country, have been the cause of the utmost excitement, and even very serious consequences. Lights, flowers, crosses and ornaments upon the Altar, or Communion Table, as the Prayer Book calls it, excite little remark. Vestments are not considered vital, and different, colored hangings, at different seasons, are regarded as a matter of taste. The position of the

officiating minister even, does not much disturb us, perhaps because we do not fully understand what it is intended to signify, unless it is distinctly made a posture of adoration of the Altar, or of something upon it. A true work of Liturgical enrichment can more readily be accomplished here than in England, for many obvious reasons, growing out of the temper and character of our people, as well as the nature of our polity. We may work hopefully for the success of a movement with that purpose, conducted upon the principles indicated in the utterances of Dr. Huntington.

It seems impossible to leave the subject, without saying somewhat more upon the Lectures on the Prayer Book of Edward VI., delivered and published by the Rev. Dr. Dix. These discourses come from one of equal authority, and, it may be, of greater power, than Dr. Huntington. Their author, besides being a man of conspicuous ability, and large influence, in controlling both thought and action, is a member of the Committee of the General Convention, having in charge the revision of the Prayer Book. The Lectures in question seem to be intended as a statement of the author's views, of the proper object and method of revising our Liturgy. A discussion of the subject, as it has been thus far presented to the Church, if it did not refer to the views put forth from such a quarter, and in such a manner, would be as incomplete, as if it omitted to mention the views of Dr. Huntington.

Dr. Dix holds up the Prayer Book of Edward VI. as a model Liturgy, from which every departure which has since been made, is a misfortune and a mistake. Cranmer, Ridley and Hooper, who are charged with being the authors or instigators, of the changes from the first book, which appear in the English Book of Common Prayer and our own, are treated with marked severity. Hooper especially is the subject of denunciation, which may fairly be called unmeasured, for his inclinations to Puritanism. A Protestant could hardly say harsher things of Bonner, for his persecution of the Reformed.

The losses which have been sustained in the alterations of the Prayer Book of Edward VI., besides the exclusion of the so-called Athanasian Creed, which our American Revisers struck out, are stated to consist in the omission of certain services, and of the sanction of certain practices. The practices which are mentioned, as sanctioned by the elder Book, and giving it a value which the later Liturgies do not possess, are auricular confession, prayers for the faith-

ful dead, the prescription of vestments, the sign of the cross in public and private devotions, and the unction of the sick. It is no part of my purpose to go at any length into the statements, historical and other, of these Lectures, far less to discuss their arguments, or any doctrines, which they are intended to enforce, but only to present enough of their contents, to indicate their practical bearing, in my view of the subject, upon the matter in hand.

The sense of it is, if I understand the learned author, to exhibit the Prayer Book of Edward VI. as a book which presents and sets forth "by every act, word and symbol fitted for that purpose," the systems known as "Sacramental" and "Sacerdotal." The doctrines which make up this system are specified as being, Episcopacy (as a direct divine institution), the Apostolic succession (in a series of persons), the true and proper priesthood of the clergy, Auricular Confession (not required but recommended), Priestly Absolution, a true and proper sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, and the Real Presence (in or with the elements). Besides these are, of course, others, which are common to this, and other systems of Christianity. The hope is expressed, that a revision of the Prayer Book may result in conforming it more to the model of the Book of Edward VI., and is restoring to our Liturgy, services, practices and expressions which should restore to these doctrines the sanction and expression which they do not now possess, in consequence of the changes which have been made from the first Reformed Liturgy. The idea thus put forth is to introduce changes in order to restore doctrines.

I need not repeat that I have no quarrel here with the devout and able men who hold these doctrines. I recognize fully their right to hold them all, as scriptural, primitive, reasonable and true. Nay I would not deny their right to teach them, so long as they do not alter our services, so as to compel me to accept them. For everybody knows that there are and always have been, in the Church of England and in our own church, men of learning and devout piety, who deny that these doctrines are either scriptural, or primitive, or reasonable, or true. If men holding this latter opinion, have an equal right in our Church with the contrary party, which I cannot imagine will be denied, have they not a certain right to protection in their opinions? All that such protection consists in is, that the Liturgy of our Church should not be so framed, or

so altered, as to make it impossible for them to use it without condemning themselves, and proclaiming what they do not believe.

The greater or less number, or the greater or less learning or wisdom, of the clergymen or laymen, who do not accept the system which the Prayer Book of Edward VI. is claimed to present and enforce, is not material, so long as the right to differ in these points is admitted. In point of fact, I suppose that a large majority of our clergy and laity do not accept all the doctrines I have mentioned. I suppose that a very considerable and influential number do not accept any of them, in the sense indicated by the clauses in brackets which I have introduced, intending to express plainly but fairly, what I understand these doctrines to mean. My whole purpose in this part of this paper is, with due respect, to express the opinion that the introduction of or the emphasizing and expressing, any doctrinal views is not the principle or purpose, with which a revision of our Prayer Book should be undertaken. I will venture to add, that it is not a principle or a purpose, with which any such undertaking can succeed.

The Rector of Trinity Church states his position plainly enough. He would prefer to have the Prayer Book "kept as it is, *verbatim, literatim, punctuatim*, a hundred years more, rather than lose one smallest portion of the strong meat which, with all its imperfections, the book now contains." Have not Churchmen, who differ more or less widely with Dr. Dix, an equal right to say, that they would prefer to keep the book as it is, rather than to be compelled to swallow any additions of what Dr. Dix calls "strong meat?" Fortunately for the success of the present movement, its promoters have not undertaken it, with any desire to add or take away doctrinal teaching. In that respect the movement differs somewhat from the memorial movement of Dr. Muhlenbergh. The undertaking is defined in the resolution adopted by the General Convention, as seeking alterations, in the direction of enrichment, and increased flexibility of use. The Committee appointed by the Convention acted in the spirit of their appointment, when at their first meeting, on the motion of the Bishop of Albany, they unanimously placed on record their conviction, that no alteration should be made, touching either statements or standards of doctrine. That decision covers additions as well as subtractions. If that rule be fairly acted up to, the movement may lead to a practical result.



The movement which I have been discussing will be a crucial test of the temper and character of our Church at the present day. It will show whether what we have been hailing as an era of reconciliation and peace, and therefore of assured growth and power in the Church, is after all nothing but a truce between contending parties. We shall see, by what comes to pass in the next three years, whether the differing schools which our communion comprehends, are willing and able to sink their differences, in a common effort to make their Church better equipped and better able to discharge its mission to the souls and bodies of men, or whether they care for nothing better worth striving for, than the poor purpose of making the Church the exponent of their own peculiar views.

The question may thus have a broader aspect than merely the Revision of the Prayer Book.

JAMES EMOTT.

## THE TRICHOTOMY OF MAN.

**T**HE present discussion of this subject has been undertaken with the purpose of calling attention to a remarkable book in which it is incidentally treated.\*

It appears from its title that the author believes in the objective reality of things. If he were to write a treatise on Ethics, we would expect him to take ground in favor of the objective reality of moral distinctions. Indeed he stands committed to that already, for the argument which establishes the objectivity of Beauty does the same for the material and spiritual universe of which Beauty is a characteristic. It will be seen that the author takes his stand in the ranks of those philosophers who are battling for the True, the Right and the Good, as well as for the Beautiful.

Only a philosophical mind, in writing a book on *Æsthetics*, would feel the necessity of discussing a topic apparently so remote as Psychology. But the author has felt this necessity. We are therefore to expect not simply a handbook on the subject, but rather a philosophical treatment of its underlying principles. The preface, in fact, assures us that this is the purpose of the book.

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\* *The Beautiful and the Sublime, An Analysis of these Emotions, and a Determination of the Objectivity of Beauty.* By John Steinfort Kedney. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1880.

I shall not discuss the theory of Beauty advocated in this volume. Those interested in the science of *Æsthetics* will find that theory original, and the treatment of it profound. Instead, therefore, of undertaking a review of the book as a whole, I shall content myself with a consideration of the psychological theory contained in it. The subject may be introduced by the following short paragraph:

"The old Dichotomy, which regards soul and body as disparate entities, has for a long time been weakening as a satisfactory explanation of man. It fails to show any unity of these, as juxtaposed constituents of human nature, or even to show any necessary relation between them."

Every thoughtful person who takes into consideration the great frequency with which, in Sacred Scripture, the three constituent parts of man's nature—body, soul and spirit—are mentioned, must feel dissatisfied with the prevalent Dichotomy in which the whole of man's being is summed up under the heads of soul and body. Then, too, the prevalent doctrine of the immortality of the soul, seems to leave the body out of view as a necessary part of man. The soul has been regarded as the human person, and the body as only its instrument. According to this view there is no logical place for the fundamental Christian doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead.

In the ancient Greek Philosophy the soul was regarded as constituting the human person, and it was supposed to continue in a shadowy existence forever after its separation from the body. This philosophical tenet explains the reception that S. Paul's sermon met with on Mars' Hill. The philosophic idlers that listened on that occasion, heard S. Paul respectfully until he came to the doctrines of Eternal Judgment and the Resurrection of the Dead. But "when they heard of the Resurrection of the Dead, some mocked; and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter."

The too ready adoption of this doctrine concerning the human person has brought forth evil fruit in our time. As a result the Resurrection of the Body has been extensively denied, or explained in such a way as to amount to a virtual denial. For instance, Emmanuel Swedenborg teaches that the Resurrection takes place at death, and consists of the soul taking to itself another body, suited to its changed condition, as the old body was suited to its

condition here, and denies that the body that was laid in the grave rises again. This view is not confined to the followers of Swedenborg, but is, in other quarters, often, by those who should know better, advocated as the true teaching of Scripture on the subject.

However others may reconcile this with their convictions of truth, such a course is clearly impossible to a Churchman. The definition of faith is forever settled for him in the Creeds, as well as in the solemn formulas of the Communion Office:

"The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, *preserve thy body* and soul unto everlasting life."

"The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, *preserve thy body* and soul unto everlasting life."

S. Paul, as if with prophetic foresight of the evils of these times, places the doctrine of the Resurrection among the fundamental verities of the Christian faith. He makes the first principles of Christianity to consist of two experiences, Repentance and Faith; two ordinances, Baptism and Confirmation; and two beliefs, the Resurrection of the Dead and Eternal Judgment. What he means by the Resurrection of the Dead he shows unmistakably elsewhere.

If now the resurrection of the body be an essential doctrine of Christianity, then it follows as matter of course, that the body is an essential element of the human person. But this the popular Dichotomy denies, because it makes the soul alone to constitute the human person. However, a Dichotomy of itself does not necessitate any such conclusion. In fact, the Dichotomy of the Fathers is a virtual Trichotomy, as shall be presently shown. Athenagoras, the Athenian Philosopher and Christian, in his treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead, whilst teaching an apparent Dichotomy, emphasizes the fact that the personality of man is compound, consisting of soul and body together. His language is so pointed and pertinent that I cannot forbear quoting somewhat at length from the fifteenth chapter of his treatise, in the translation of the Ante-Nicene Library. He says:

"For if the whole nature of man in general is composed of an immortal soul and a body which was fitted to it in the creation, and if neither to the nature of the soul by itself, nor to the nature of the body separately, has God assigned such a creation or such a life and entire course of existence as this, *but to men compounded of the two*, in order that they may, when they have passed through their

present existence, arrive at one common end, with the same elements of which they are composed at their birth and during life, it unavoidably follows, since one living being is formed from the two . . . that the whole series of these things *must be referred to some one end.*

. . . Man, therefore, who consists of the two parts, must continue forever. *But it is impossible for him to continue unless he rise again.* For if no resurrection were to take place, the nature of men as men would not continue."

Again in his twentieth chapter he argues the case on the ground of equity, showing that if the body is not raised and the soul alone is judged, that the compound being that sinned is not judged at all, and equity would therefore be wanting to the judgment. Whether or not the Romish doctrine of purgatory would have been possible if this primitive teaching had been held to, the thoughtful reader may determine for himself.

It remains now to be shown that the Dichotomy of the Fathers was in fact a true scriptural Trichotomy. Even Plato himself taught a doctrine somewhat resembling this, though he erred in his doctrine of the personality of man. In the *Timæus* he distinguishes between what he terms the sensual and mortal soul, and the immortal soul. In Prof. Jowett's translation the passage is as follows:

"Now of the Divine He Himself—*i. e.* God—was the Creator, but committed to His offspring the creation of the mortal, and they imitating Him, received from Him the immortal principle of the soul; and around this they fashioned a mortal body, and made the whole body to be a vehicle of the soul, and constructed within *a soul of another nature* which was mortal, subject to terrible and irresistible affections."

Philo Judæus, well known as a student of Plato, and who desired to reconcile the Greek Philosophy with the teachings of the Old Testament, in the 24th section of his treatise on "The worse plotting against the better," represents Moses as teaching that God "breathed into man from above something of His own divine nature, and His divine nature stamped her own impression in an invisible manner on the invisible soul, in order that even the earth might not be destitute of the image of God." This is still nearer to the scriptural Trichotomy than the teaching of Plato. According to this, man has a body, a soul, and the impression of the Divine nature stamped upon the soul.

It is, however, when we come to the Fathers of the Christian Church that we find definite clear and unmistakable teaching on the subject. Irenæus, in the second generation from the Apostle S. John, in his great work against heresies discusses the subject in full. Among many passages the following in Book 2nd, chap. 54, may be chosen:

"All who are enrolled for Eternal Life shall be resurrected, having their own bodies, and having their own souls, and their own spirits in which they pleased God."

Justin Martyr, in the tenth chapter of his treatise on the Resurrection, says: "The body is the house of the soul; and the soul the house of the spirit. These three, in all those who cherish a sincere hope and unquestioning faith in God, will be saved."

Hagenbach, in his History of Doctrine, quotes Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin, Tatian and Origen as holding the scriptural Trichotomy. It will not be necessary, however, to verify his references. One more clear quotation must suffice. The clearest and fullest testimony is given by S. Augustine. In his "De Fide et Symbolo" he argues the point at length:

"There are three things whereof man consists—spirit, soul and body; which *are again called two, because often the soul is named together with the spirit*; for a certain reasonable part of the same, which beasts are without, is called the spirit: that which is chief in us is the spirit; next, the life whereby we are joined unto the body, is called the soul; finally, the body itself, since it is visible, is that in us which is last."

In the following chapter, the 24th, he answers the objection which may be urged against the resurrection of the flesh:

"Therefore the body will rise again according to the Christian Faith, which cannot deceive. Which if it seem to any one incredible, he regards what the flesh now is, but considers not what it shall be, because in that time of angelic change, it will be no longer flesh and blood, but only body. . . . Therefore that which the Apostle says, 'Flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of God,' contradicts not the resurrection of the flesh; but declares what that will one day be which is now flesh and blood. Into which sort of nature *whosoever believes not that this flesh can be changed, he must be led step by step unto the faith.*"

We see by the last sentence of this quotation that S. Augustine was not here setting forth his individual opinion, or putting forth a private speculation, but that he regarded himself only as making a statement of the common Christian Faith. We find here too, most clearly stated, that which we set out to prove. That the common language of Christendom that speaks of man as having soul and body only, gives no countenance to the philosophical error of a Dichotomy, but when properly understood implies a real Trichotomy, because the soul of man is a *spiritual soul*. This point may be abundantly proved from the Christian literature of any age, as the above quotations prove it, for the age of the primitive Church.

That there have been great men who have held to other views cannot be denied, but yet even in their cases it can be shown that they have not consistently held the philosophical Dichotomy. A very noted instance of this is the case of Bishop Butler in his *Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion*. He distinctly announces in his first chapter the platonic tenet that the soul is the living agent, and the body only an instrument that it uses, but the whole structure and validity of his argument proceed upon the implied assumption of a spiritual soul, or a true scriptural Trichotomy.

It must be confessed, however, that, in the present age, the whole subject has fallen into confusion, from the confounding of the Christian Dichotomy, shown to be a real Trichotomy, with the philosophical Dichotomy, which is a denial of the Christian doctrine. In recent times the great work of Delitzsch, on *Scriptural Psychology*, has turned the minds of thoughtful men to the subject anew. And so important a contribution is it that no man can be said to be really informed upon the subject who has not read it. It will be impossible to review that treatise here. Its results must be taken for granted, or only incidentally mentioned.

We have now arrived at the point in the discussion of the subject where Dr. Kedney's ideas may pass under review. In the first chapter of his book he gives a table of definitions; among them he defines the term soul as follows:

"I use the word '*soul*,' meaning that the soul is the true concrete. It is *spirit* as related to the realm of ideas, or of thought. It is *body* as related to the physical universe. The notion '*mind*' is reached by abstraction. It

is the soul regarded as knowing or thinking; as 'will' is the soul regarded as acting, concentrating itself for a purpose, governing, regulating, adapting its own movement."

"It belongs to the soul to *feel*, by virtue of its relation to either realm. It feels because of nature, and by virtue of the sensitive organism. It feels because of spirit, by virtue of the attraction and repulsion of ideas. It belongs to both realms, which meet in it. We know it only as the synthesis of the two, and not as pure nature, nor pure spirit. It is the subjective unity of the two, which may make itself objective in the idea, 'man,' of which it is the concrete manifestation, even though it be determined by its heredity and environment to an idiosyncrasy."

"The human soul is called a 'self' because in its consciousness it distinguishes and relates the two realms, or material therefrom; and all of its states are determinations from both sources, amid which it determines itself, and out of which it constructs its own world."

In the second part of the book there are two chapters devoted to the subject in the way of elucidation of the above, and of application of it to the Philosophy of *Æsthetics*. For the present purpose, however, the quotation just made shall suffice, as being in itself a sufficient presentation of the author's ideas. It becomes us now to enquire what contribution to the science of Psychology, if any, has Dr. Kedney made?

The position of the science as left by Delitzsch was that the *spirit* in man is the centre of the human person; that the soul is the product of the spirit, and the means whereby it is united to the body. In other words, that the soul is the clothing of the spirit, and the body the clothing of the soul. Or to reverse the conception—that the body enshrines the soul, and the soul enshrines the spirit. This may be regarded as in elucidation of Justin Martyr's statement, that "the body is the house of the soul, and the soul the house of the spirit." It may be taken also as being essentially at one with the speculation of Athenagoras that man is a compound being made up of parts, and last of all, it may be accepted as identical with the explanation of S. Augustine that "that which is chief in us is the spirit; next, the life whereby we are joined unto the body, is called the soul; finally, the body itself, since it is visible, is that in us which is last."

This patristic doctrine, essentially the same as that elucidated and defended by Delitzsch, offers no philosophy



of the conception of the human person. That is to say, while it teaches that man is compounded of three factors, it does not teach us how these factors are all essential. It teaches that they are essential, but does not explain how they are so. So far as any philosophical understanding of the subject is concerned, we are scarcely better off than before under the old philosophical Dichotomy of the Greek philosophy.

This deficiency Dr. Kedney attempts to supply. He would show us that man is not a simple aggregation of parts, but a true unit. In chemistry certain elements may be mechanically mixed, as oxygen, nitrogen and carbonic acid gases are in the atmospheric air. There is here no chemical combination, and there is no such thing as a molecule of air. In water, however, we have no longer a mechanical mixture, but a chemical combination of oxygen and hydrogen gases, forming true molecules of water, composed of the atoms of these two gases. In an analogous way, Dr. Kedney would show that there is a true union and not an unessential aggregation of the component parts of man. This he would show us by making—not the spirit—but the *soul* the true concrete. That the soul is itself body, as related to the material universe, and is itself spirit as related to the spiritual universe. Not that man *includes* body, soul and spirit, but that he *is* body, soul and spirit, and that he is so all these not as being three things, but as being *one*, that is to say, a *living soul*, which living soul is, according as it may be viewed, either Body or Spirit, or in their synthesis both Body and Spirit.

To elucidate this view perfectly, a separate and full treatise would be demanded, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Kedney may yet give us such a work. I shall not now attempt to defend this view, but as a working hypothesis, we may see how far it meets the demands of the case. I think it will be found, singularly well, to meet some of the requirements of Scriptural Exegesis. The use of the term *soul* in Holy Scripture is very perplexing, except on some such hypothesis. The Hebrew word *Nephesh*, and the Greek *Psyche*, have a manifold use, which this theory goes very far to explain. The various uses will be found set forth and illustrated in good Hebrew and Greek dictionaries, and even in Cruden's Concordance. I believe it can be shown that the meanings of these words may be classed under four heads. They stand for: 1st. The human person; 2nd. The sensual soul, or life of both man and beast;

3rd. The soul and spirit combined as the non-material, emotional, intellectual, moral and spiritual part of man's nature; 4th. The dead body of man, answering to the Greek *Nekros*. This classification is possible only after eliminating at the outset the mere etymological meaning *breath*, and the tropical use, as illustrated in Isaiah iii., 20, where it means *perfume*. And the grammatical use where it means simply *self*, as in Isaiah v., 14: "Hell hath enlarged *herself*."

It will not be necessary to cite many texts of Scripture to show that this classification is just. But to prove that it is exhaustive would require a laborious citation, which shall not be undertaken here. For the 1st sense one reference shall suffice, Gen. xli., 27: "The sons of Joseph, which were born him in Egypt, were two *souls*. All the *souls* of the house of Jacob which came into Egypt were three score and ten." For the 2nd sense, the animal life of both man and beast, Gen. i., 20: "And God said let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath *life*." Also, Gen. ii., 7: "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living *soul*." This last text, however, might be equally well cited in behalf of the first sense, or the third. In addition to this for the third sense; among many others may be cited as especially convincing Matt. x., 28: "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the *soul*; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both *soul* and body in hell." For the 4th sense, meaning the dead body—*Nekros*, Numbers, vi., 6: "All the days that he separateth himself unto the Lord he shall come at no dead *body*." Also, Numbers ix., 6: "Then were certain men, who were defiled by the *dead body* of a man, that they could not keep the passover that day." If, to any mind, the texts here cited should appear insufficient to establish the classification laid down, then a very slight search, with the proper aids, of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures will certainly suffice.

If now, according to Dr. Kedney's theory, the soul is the synthesis of man's entire being, and thus man himself, then the scriptural and even modern use, whereby the soul stands for the man, is explained. If, in the second place, the soul may, in one way of looking at it, be regarded as the *nexus* between spirit and matter, as that whereby a human spirit and a human body are united in one person,

then the scriptural use which regards the soul as the *life* is abundantly explained. If, in the third place, the soul as related to the spiritual realm may be called *spirit*, then the scriptural and ordinary use, whereby the term soul is used to designate man's spirit, is fully justified. The popular phraseology whereby man is described as being made up of body and soul is therefore proper, because as S. Augustine says: "Often the soul is named together with the spirit." In sacred Scripture the Dichotomy of man is that of a *spiritual* soul and a material body, which is again made a real Trichotomy by S. Paul, when he says, in I. Thes. v., 23: "I pray God your whole *spirit*, and *soul* and *body* be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Last of all the 4th use, whereby the term soul stands for the dead body, is entirely explained. For if the term soul is rightly used to designate the body of a living man, how very natural that it should come to be used as a general term for the body, and thus to be used for the body of a dead as well as a living man. And still further, if the soul may stand for the man himself, then the transition is easy to speak of the lifeless body as the dead man, and if man be soul, then as the dead soul.

There is a corresponding use of the term *sheol* that is explained with equal felicity. Properly speaking, *sheol* is equivalent to the Greek *Hades*, and is the place of the spirits and souls of men between death and the judgment. But if the term soul may be used to describe the lifeless bodies of men, then the term *sheol* may be used to designate the *grave*, where the lifeless bodies of men are placed. A good text to illustrate both uses of the term *sheol* may be found in Ps. xlix., 14, 15, which in the authorized version is translated: "Like sheep they are laid in the *grave*; death shall feed on them; and the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning, and their beauty shall consume in the *grave*, from their dwelling. But God will redeem my soul from the power of the *grave*, for He shall receive me." The translation in the Psalter in some respects gives the sense even better: "They lie in the *hell* like sheep; death gnaweth upon them, and the righteous shall have dominion over them in the morning; their beauty shall consume in the *sepulchre* out of their dwelling. But God hath delivered my soul from the place of *hell*; for He shall receive me." Here the one Hebrew word *sheol* is translated by the three English words *grave*,

*sepulchre* and *hell*. All three of these uses are legitimate, and can be paralleled by many other passages in the Old Testament. The possibility of such use is explained by the fact that the term *soul* may be properly used to designate a lifeless body, and, consequently, that the term *sheol* may, with equal propriety, be used to designate the receptacle of a lifeless body. But none of this would be possible unless the term *soul* so stood for the whole man, as that whilst retaining its own proper significance, it might be also used to designate his spirit on the one hand and his body on the other.

As far as we have got, the theory of Dr. Kedney's book serves the purpose remarkably well. It is somewhat doubtful, however, if upon further examination it will give equal satisfaction. The Unitarians, for instance, in their zeal to maintain the unity of God, sacrifice his three-fold personality, whilst the Church, which has in all ages accepted the doctrine of the Trinity, has her long list of martyrs who have testified, to the death, in behalf of the Divine Unity. As it has happened about the personality of God, so may it also happen about the composition of man's nature. It may be possible so to set forth the unity of that nature as to confound the separate parts. And this is the criticism that I would make on the theory of this book. It seems not to take into account those frequent expressions of sacred Scripture which speak of man's nature as being made up of body, soul and spirit as essentially discrete parts. That spirit and soul may both leave the body, and both return to it, is positively certain. When the Prophet Elijah restored to life the son of the widow of Sarepta, he prayed, "Let this child's soul come into His inward parts again." The death of our Lord upon the cross is described by a verb, the radical idea of which is *spirit*. Thus we see that, according to the Scriptures, both soul and spirit are separated from the body in death. With equal precision do the Scriptures also distinguish between soul and spirit, as in Hebrews iv., 12: "The Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." If, now, the soul and spirit may be divided asunder, then it remains to be shown how, according to this theory, the soul *is* the spirit, for how could the soul be divided from itself? So in like manner, if the soul *is*

the body, then one of two things follows—either the soul is not separated from the body in death, or that from which the soul is separated is not the body. But if it be not the body, why then give it Christian burial?

There is one passage in the book which may be permitted to speak for itself. It may be found in chapter ii., of Book ii:

“We know nothing of an animal soul without body, or of a body without soul. The dead corpse is no body, but mere material elements, subject now to the lower forms of force exclusively chemical and mechanical.”

But this again seems to be in direct contradiction to the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead as stated by S. Paul, who declares it to be the *standing up of corpses*. But the resurrection of the body is that in which we believe, and if the corpse is not the body, then why does it stand up at the last day? Nor is it satisfactory to say that although the corpse be not the body, yet when the soul re-enters it, it becomes the body again. For this again contradicts the language of the Prayer-Book, which makes our bodies to be *preserved* unto everlasting life. But that which has ceased to be, and is brought into existence again, is not *preserved*, but *restored*. Neither will it do to say that the corpse is the *seed* from which the new body is produced in the resurrection, but is not that body itself. This would be to misunderstand S. Paul, who hereby only explains the change that passes upon the body and sufficiently asserts the identity of it when he says: “It is sown in corruption; *it* is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor; *it* is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness; *it* is raised in power; it is sown a natural body; *it* is raised a spiritual body.”

In justice to the author it is proper to say that his language is used in a philosophical and metaphysical sense, not intended to deny any article of the Christian Faith, but, on the contrary, rather to defend and to show the reasonableness of the faith. And also that the topic under discussion is but incidentally treated in the book, and that if he were to write at length on the subject he would doubtless bring strong arguments to justify the language that he uses.

The justification that I offer for myself in making this criticism is that the book is offered to the world and must be understood by what it contains, and that it is reasonable and just to point out difficulties in the way of its

theory as a contribution to the general discussion of the subject; always provided that this be done according to the principles and in the spirit of the Golden Rule.

The real solution of this question seems to me to lie in a direction not indicated by Dr. Kedney's work, but to which it, curiously enough, lends the strongest support. I could not desire, for the elucidation of my own views upon the subject, better help than this book furnishes. Dr. Kedney is right in affirming that "the soul is the true concrete." Neither the spirit nor the body, in Holy Scripture, stands for the man, but the soul always so stands. This, however, is not because the soul is in itself the most important, or in point of dignity the most exalted factor in man. The spirit is immeasurably the loftiest. But the soul, not in itself, but relatively, to man as *man*, is the only part of his nature that can stand for the whole. All animals have souls, but not having spirits they are not *living* souls, hence they are not persons and cannot properly be termed souls. They *have* souls, but they are not themselves souls. It is possible that all created spirits have bodies, but their bodies are spiritual and not natural; hence they cannot be termed souls, although they are persons, because the term soul as describing a living being is that whereby a natural body and a created spirit exist together in one person. There are, therefore, persons that are not souls, as God and the holy angels; and there are beings with souls that are not persons, as the beasts. Only human beings are both persons and souls. The soul is the man in a sense which cannot be predicated of the spirit. If man's body were spiritual, then the spirit would stand for and represent man; but man's body is natural, not spiritual, therefore the soul, whereby the natural body and the spirit co-exist in his personality, stands for and represents that personality.

This suggests another inquiry. S. Paul tells us that our bodies, which are sown natural bodies, shall be raised spiritual bodies. Does it therefore follow that man shall cease to be a soul? If the soul or *Psyche* is necessary now in order that the natural or *psychical* body shall co-exist with the spirit in man's personality, then when the body ceases to be natural or *psychical*, shall the functions of the soul or *Psyche* cease?

The explanation of this difficulty is found in the use which S. Paul makes of the terms *natural* and *spiritual*. He describes three kinds of men: *carnal* men, *natural* men,

and *spiritual* men. A *carnal* man is one who brings his soul and spirit into subjection to the flesh. The carnal man is a sensualist. Having brought his spirit into bondage to his flesh, he exhausts his flesh, and destroys himself in the vain attempt to gratify the immortal longings of the spirit, through and by means of the mortal flesh. The spirit was made for God, and can be satisfied only in Him. The attempt to satisfy it through the flesh, cannot be successful, and must be disastrous. The *natural* man is a grade higher in the scale of being than the carnal man. He is one who has subdued the flesh, not to the spirit, but to the soul or psyche, hence he is a natural or psychical man. But the natural man instead of subduing the soul to the spirit, subdues the spirit to the soul. He would gratify and satisfy his spirit with the aims and ends of this mortal life. Such men frequently pursue careers that have something of nobility in them. They feel that the dignity of manhood is incompatible with sensuality. They often crucify the flesh to their natural desires. In pursuit of scientific knowledge they endure hardness and undergo privation. Their purposes are often benevolent and far reaching. But their benevolence is comprehended within the limits of this natural life, and would have all men to be sated with its pride. Such men may be great conquerors, statesmen, philosophers, poets or inventors, but their spirits and their bodies are yoke-fellows in bondage to the pride, excellence and greatness of this natural life.

The *spiritual* man, the third in the classification of S. Paul, is the man who subdues the flesh to the *spirit*. In his case the pyramid stands not upon its apex, but upon its base. Lowest in dignity is the flesh, above that is the soul, and above that is the spirit. The spirit rules the soul, the soul rules the flesh. Therefore, mediately the spirit rules the flesh. But this dominion of the spirit is, in this life, always imperfect, for the reason that whilst the spirit is regenerated here, the body shall not be regenerated until the resurrection of the dead. When, therefore, in the resurrection, the body shall become perfectly subdued to the spirit, it shall no longer be a recalcitrant factor in the human person, but being subdued to the spirit, and fitted to the purposes of the spirit, it is called a spiritual body.

But the question still remains, What is the function of the soul in the spiritual man, when in the Resurrection of the Dead the body becomes fitted to the purposes of the

spirit, and becomes thus a spiritual body? The answer is, that it has the same function then as now. The spiritual ceases not to be a living soul. He is the same being only developed.

The difficulty may be further urged. If the angels who are spirits have spiritual bodies, but not souls, why should man when his body becomes spiritual, have a soul, seeing that the angels have none?

The explanation of this lies in the fact that man's nature is the bond that ties two worlds together. He is spirit and he is matter. The material universe furnishes the substance of his body, and that lies under the curse of sin. It groans and travails in pain together until now, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God, when it shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. The regeneration of man's body is followed by the regeneration of the entire material universe. And man's body will bear the same relation to the material universe then that it bears now. The regenerated body and the purified spirit shall then subsist together in one person by means of the soul, and all the same as now.

A further question now arises: Is man's body regenerated because the material universe of which it is a part is regenerated, or does the regeneration of the material universe follow as a result from the regeneration of man's body, which is a part of it? This question is answered in favor of the latter alternative by S. Paul, who tells us that the creation shares in the freedom of the sons of God, and not the sons of God in the freedom of the creation.

It is fair to presume that the final destiny of the material universe, in the regeneration at the Resurrection of the Dead, was the purpose from the beginning. This result is attained through the regeneration of man's body. Therefore we infer that it was the purpose from the beginning that it should be attained in this way. If this be so, we are enabled to see a part of the Divine plan in the creation of man. Geology teaches us that disorder, suffering and death existed in this world long before the creation of man. The difficulty of reconciling this with S. Paul's statement that death came by the sin of Adam, has been felt. But there is nothing in the Apostle's argument to convey the idea that he meant anything more than the death that afflicts the human race. Man was immortal as long as he had access to the sacrament of the Tree of



Life. When he had sinned he was denied this sacrament, and he was cast from the Garden of Eden, where no death was, out into the earth, where death reigned, and became subject to it the same as other animals.

It is perhaps not unwarrantable to assume that if man had not sinned, but had "kept his first estate," he would have become immortal, and thus would have rescued that part of the material universe which composed his body from the curse of sin, and then as a result the remainder of that universe would have been lifted out of that curse, just as it shall be now in the Resurrection of the Dead. Some things look as if this might be true. Man was placed in the Garden to dress it and to keep it, but he was to *subdue* the earth. His dominion over that was one which he was to conquer unto himself. By keeping and dressing the Garden, and gradually extending its boundaries until it should have covered the earth, he would have subdued the earth, and its subjugation would have been its deliverance from the curse of sin.

The enmity of Satan is thus accounted for. He saw the fair beginning in the Garden, which was a provisionally redeemed and sacramental spot. He saw the encroachment of its boundaries on his domain, and with subtle craft, he discerned the end from this beginning. All his malice, aided by all his cunning, was brought into requisition to thwart this all-merciful scheme. The result we know. The first Adam failed. The earth, which before lay under the load of the angels' sin, was now freighted with that of man also; and death, which before had not touched the human race, now became universal.

The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. Every human being must live again. And after the Blessed Lord shall have delivered up the Kingdom to God even the Father, this natural death shall never occur any more. Death shall never do its full work on any human being. Our Lord is the Saviour of *all* men, but especially of those that believe. He saves all men as far as they can be saved without their own consent. He *especially* saves those that believe, because they give their consent, and their salvation can therefore be completed. But He saves *all* men, in that he rescues all from the dominion of natural death, which comes upon all men without their consent. But inasmuch as spiritual and eternal death can come upon no man without his own consent, neither can any man be delivered from it without his own consent. But

his consent can no longer be given when the mediatorial Kingdom shall have been surrendered to the Father.

We see now a reason why there can be no repentance between death and the judgment. The human person is under the paralysis of natural death. The elements of his personality are separated, so that he cannot perform a moral act. If men could perform moral acts between death and the judgment, then would they be judged for those acts. But the Scripture teaches us that man shall be judged *only for the deeds done in the body*, and even that judgment cannot proceed until such time as man appears in the body. Man's probation must necessarily end when the paralysis of death comes upon his person.

The preaching of the Blessed Lord to the spirits in prison was not addressed to them as in a state of probation, and it called forth no moral act on their part, but increased the blessedness of those who had died in faith, however imperfect, and enhanced the wretchedness of those who had died in unbelief.

The sleep of death is not an unconscious state, but is the suspension of moral activity. The righteous dead enjoy God, but do not praise Him as the living do, neither do they know anything as do the living. But in so far as enjoyment of God is knowledge, and basking in His favor is praise, so far do the righteous dead both praise and know.

Every moral act affects our condition before God, and is taken account of in the judgment. But no acts are taken account of in the judgment save such as are done in the body; hence there are no moral acts done except in the body.

The state of natural death is not the full penalty of sin, because it is not death in the full sense. Our Lord taught the Sadducees that God is not the God of the dead but of the living, and that all the dead live unto God. Therefore natural death is not complete and entire death, because in a sense known to God, all the dead *are* living, and in a sense known and understood of men, they all *shall* live again. Man's personality, therefore, in death is not destroyed, it is only functionally deranged, and shall be restored to full activity again. Therefore his body, under the dissolution of its material structure is not destroyed, but is *preserved*, and in the company of the material universe of which it forms a part, is awaiting its change; when it shall be delivered from its bondage and enter into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

I hope to be pardoned for having wandered from the proper province of the reviewer. My apology must be found in the fact that the book which has been in part reviewed has been found so wonderfully suggestive. It has taken proper ground in a multitude of ways. It is always original, and is throughout profound. It is possible that when the author comes to elucidate his theory the objections which have been urged in this review may all be satisfactorily met, and yet, possibly, not so met as to render entirely useless what has here been said.

E. S. WILSON.

## THE GREEK CHURCH.

### III.

**L**OUKARIS' death did not end the struggle between the reform and the conservative parties. Some months after Cyrillus Loukaris' death, Kontaris assembled a synod at Constantinople for the purpose of anathematizing his predecessor.\* One notes with surprise among the signatures of these violent decrees dictated by a Patriarch devoted to Rome, that of Mitrophanes Kritopoulos, Patriarch of Alexandria, disciple of Loukaris, who had had him instructed in England, and who during the lifetime of his protector published a confession of faith regarded by Rome as favorable to the ideas of the Reformers. Such a manner of acting sheds a melancholy light upon the character of the Greek prelates of that epoch. Cyrillus II. (Kontaris), who gave them the example of greed and of servility, did not long enjoy the fruits of his intrigues. One year after his elevation to the throne he was exiled and strangled. Parthénios I., surnamed the Old, who succeeded him, did not manifest the same hostile spirit to the memory of Loukaris, although he believed it to be his duty to take every means to give an extraordinary *éclat* to the condemnation of his opinions. Moldavia, neighbor

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\* All the decrees of this Council end with the word *ἀνάθεμα*.

at once of Russia, of Poland and of Hungary, seemed to be a country well fitted to reunite the prelates belonging to the various Orthodox States. Also Parthénios, after having condemned Cyrillus' confession in a synod (1642), sent this condemnation to the synod of Jassy,\* where it was signed by Varlaam, Metropolitan of Kief, a celebrated theologian of the Russian Church, by Arsenius, Leopol, Bishop of Ludow and of Kaminieck in Podolia, and by other dignitaries of the Orthodox Church. At the same time Parthénios, who was not, like Kontaris, an agent of the Jesuits, guarded carefully the person of his predecessor, "who was neither heterodox nor worthy of censure, and whose sole fault was not to have protested against the matters" attributed to him, although knowing the troubles they had excited in Poland and in Russia.

The Synod of Jerusalem, held at Bethlehem in 1672, is still more respectful to the illustrious Pontiff, the victim of patriotic zeal for his country's† regeneration. The Prelates seem to be more wily than conscientious in the measures which they took to make Cyrillus appear an orthodox like themselves. In their judgment Cyrillus' confession was an "untenable invention" of the heretics of Germany "who wished not to be convicted by all the Christians of Europe and condemned as public impostors by those in the East."‡ The Pontiff whom Kontaris had covered with anathemas in the synod of 1638, is to the Fathers of Jerusalem a Bishop "whose piety was acknowledged by more than a thousand eye-witnesses of it" and who was "elected by the vote of the entire Clergy of Constantinople, who had each given a hearty consent."§ Thus the memory of Loukaris is officially reinstated by an assembly whose decisions are called "sovereign," an assembly named a solemn reunion of the Eastern Church, and compared to the synods of the first centuries of Christianity.¶ But if the "seventy-one Patriarchs, Bishops or Dignitaries"

\* These decretals are found in J. Aymon, *Mon.*, etc., 335-363.

† A learned contemporaneous Greek writer who does not agree with Loukaris' views, renders full justice to his unquestionable patriotism. "We must admit that his errors were the illusions of a noble heart, and that though he may have been deceived as to the way, he believed himself to be conducting us to regeneration and to liberty." Renieris, *Cyrille Lucari ou l'Eglise grecque pendant la guerre de trente ans*, 27.

‡ Private letter to all the Orthodox Bishops of the Council of Jerusalem, ch. I.

§ Council of Jerusalem, ch. I.

¶ Renieris, *Cyrille Lucari*, 31.

assembled "under the presidency of the illustrious Dositheos," Patriarch of Jerusalem, showed so little perspicacity or good faith in the appreciation of Loukaris' work, can confidence be placed in their enlightenment in matters of theology, remembering all the Patriarch said of their profound ignorance in his correspondence with the West; \* does their independence inspire much more respect when it is remembered that their synod was "a manifestation caused by the Ambassador of Louis XIV., that Prince who was at the same time persecutor and dissolute? If it be right to reproach Loukaris for not having "died for the Greek opinions," can they be considered as warm partisans of those ideas who acted, after receiving "the encouragements of M. de Nointel," necessarily in conformity with the interests of that Catholic propaganda which Loukaris names in one of his letters "propaganda of infidelity?" Besides, why exaggerate the importance of the synods? At every epoch have they not been observed obeying exterior influences; to-day condemning the Arians and to-morrow declaring them to be Orthodox, pronouncing sometimes in favor of the iconoclasts and again the defenders of images? In the eyes of impartial history neither Loukaris nor his adversaries were the true representatives of ancient Christianity. Doubtless this Christianity had never taught that "God predestined His † elect to glory, irrespective of their works," or that "free-will being dead in the unregenerate, all that they do is sin." ‡ But, on the other hand, how find in the old Eastern Church the bread transubstantiated into the Body § of Jesus Christ? ¶ These formulas, these complicated theories are as foreign to the ancient doctrine of the East as the infallibility of the Pope or the immaculate conception of Mary. Faith is doubtless at liberty to admit them, but history does not

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\* Aymon, *Mon. auth.*, p. 201. Letters of the Patriarch Lucar.

† Confession of Cyrillus, ch. iii.

‡ Confession, ch. xiv.

§ It is well known that the Orientals differ in their explanations. If some attach to it a literal meaning, others are far from so doing. An ancient Doctor of the East, Theodoret, gives to the sign the name of His body (Τῷ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ συμβόλου δέδειχεν ὄνομα, τῷ καὶ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος). Maximus, the commentator of Dionysius the Areopagite, advocates strongly the symbolic meaning when he says : Σύμβολα ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἄληθεια. These things are signs, not realities.

¶ Decret, 17.

allow them to be attributed to an epoch when beliefs were more spontaneous than systematic.

Loukaris had proposed to himself two things, an interpretation of dogma and a revival of learning. A single man, although he might be superior to Loukaris, would be unable to accomplish such a task. Each generation has its rôle in history. If the Greeks had not aroused in the West the glorious movement of the Renaissance, Zwingli and Luther might have failed as did Wycliffe, or have been burned as was John Huss. The author of the *Ver rongeur*,\* the famous Abbé Gaume, an ardent defender of ultramontane principles, well understood that the Reformation was but one of the results of the fruitful Renaissance, which originated in the East. The reformers of the XVIII century, although not having the vast projects of the Patriarch martyr in view, saw better than he the necessity of attacking ignorance. The century of Montesquieu and of J. J. Rousseau was in the East, as in the West, a century of progress and of reforms. In France as in Greece, the men of letters prepared the way for the political regeneration of 1789 and of 1821. But the movement which among the French became hostile to their Church, whose Pontiff—a foreigner—inspired them with a strong antipathy, was directed among the Greeks by the liberal thinkers, and had for its leaders the most distinguished of a Clergy † that had remained very popular, owing to the patriotism with which they were animated. The promoters of this reform which had so many grand results, were the Patriarch Samuel and two prelates, born in the Ionian Isles, at Corfu, Eugene Voulgaris and Nicephorus Theotoky, whose memories remain precious to the Greeks.

Samuel I., surnamed "the very celebrated," born in the city of Constantine, after having distinguished himself in the Greek schools of that city and showing as much natural talent as application, entered the Ministry, and became Archbishop of Derkos. His vast erudition, the admirable clearness of his discourses, his skill in business,

\* This graceful name is given in the spirit of the Renaissance. In this kind of polemics, very much à la mode in our days, invective and anathema take the place of reason.

† The important work by M. A. Pappadopoulos-Vrtilos, Athens, 1854-57, proves that the Clergy kept abreast of the literary movement of this epoch. Two hundred and thirty-two ecclesiastical works appeared at that time.

his energy of character, fastened all eyes upon him, and in very difficult circumstances, the synod deemed it necessary to call him to the Patriarchal Throne (1764). The Mahometan propaganda had at this time some real successes; for the progress of the Russians had awakened among the Ottomans the fanaticism of their ancestors and they neglected no means of persuading the people to abjure the Christian Faith. Samuel, while making considerable concessions to the Laic element, believed the best means of resisting Islamism was to awaken among the Greeks an ardor for science, which had been their glory and which was irreconcilable with the Mussulman system. Although the Turks were very hostile to the founding of public schools controlled by Christians, he was not afraid to engage in this excellent work and to brave the Pasha's anger. Knowing that example has more force than words, he himself, notwithstanding his many pursuits, began to comment upon the ancients, upon the harangues of Demosthenes and Plato's Dialogues, while writing in modern Greek, Works and Sermons which could by their purity of style serve as a model for his contemporaries. The West is in error in holding that the pulpit remained mute after the taking of Constantinople. The adherents of the Roman Church who rather like to repeat this assertion, cannot be ignorant that Catholic censure\* has suppressed a mass of sermons because they contained discussions "dictated by the schismatic spirit." In this way have perished the eloquent works of several distinguished preachers, such as Damodos, Elie Miniatis, the Patriarch Samuel, Notaras, and Meletios of Janina. Meletios, orator, philosopher, astronomer and physician, made a great impression upon the Greek mind by publishing a comparative geography—a geographical archæology of Greece. This work acquired a European reputation, and while giving to a country which had held so great a place in the world, the picture of her past splendor, in contrast with her present misery, it increased the hatred which foreign domination was exciting in all hearts.

The zeal of Samuel I. for national literature was neither narrow nor exclusive. It was he who originated the idea of translating the most celebrated works of the West. Guided by his counsel, Jean-Nicholas Karadzas published a translation of the "*Essai sur les mœurs*," and the "*Siccle*

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\* The Greeks had their printing done at Venice at this time.



*de Louis XIV.*" by Voltaire.\* Alexander Mavrocordatos, Domnu of Moldavia, who understood the bearing of this innovation, had a *Dictionnaire grec-français-italien* printed, which was of very great service in facilitating the study of the master-pieces of France and Italy to the Greeks. The choice of the works translated by a friend of the Patriarch in no way proves that fanaticism was the characteristic of the Greek Clergy. This was not an isolated fact. A member of the Clergy, who signalized himself by his talents in the Wallachian schools and later by his intrepidity in the Greek insurrection, † Gregory Konstandas, did he not translate the "*Eléments d'Histoire générale*, by Millot, which the Popes have forbidden to be read. ‡ Another ecclesiastic, his friend, Daniel Philippidis, born at the foot of Mount Pelion, and Professor in Wallachia, translated a work equally proscribed by Rome, *La Logique de Condillac*, § a philosopher for whom M. Taine has made so adroit an apology, ¶ and popularized in Greece Brisson's *Physique*, Fourcroy's *Chemistry* and Lalande's *Astronomy*. But it is above all to Nicephorus Theotoky that must be attributed the scientific movement of the Greek Schools, to which the Patriarch Samuel showed himself so little disposed.\*\* After having made a voyage into the West to study science, Nicephorus came to Constantinople, where the Patriarch Samuel, far from fearing the natural independence of cultivated minds, was happy to have all those enter the ranks of the Clergy who were interested in the renaissance of study. But the stern prelate, less indulgent than Bossuet and Bourdaloue, would not tolerate the eulogies which the pulpit pronounced upon the great of the world. †† The already renowned orator, Theotoky, was charged with pronouncing the funeral oration of the mother of the Domnu of Moldavia, Gregory III. Ghika. The Patriarch and Holy Synod were present at this discourse.

\* André Pappadopoulos—*Vrétos*, 273-4.—M. Pappadopoulos says he does not know whether these works have been printed or not.

† A. Papp. *Vrétos*. *Neo-ελληνική φιλολογία*, Μέρος Β. 290, I. Κωνσταντάς.

‡ Bouillet, *Dict. univers. d'histoire*, art. Millot.

§ Bouillet, art. Condillac.

¶ M. Taine, *Les philosophes français du XIX. siècle*.

\*\* In the *Albanesi in Rumenia*, *Storios dei principi Ghika*—Gregorio III. I have shown the causes for the hostility of the Prelate litterateur against positive science.

†† Bungener, *Trois sermons sous Louis XV.*

Theotoky, who owed much to Prince Ghika, who had energetically protected him against his enemies, used hyperbole that was tolerated by the people; but when he descended from the pulpit and approached the Patriarch to kiss his hand, as was the custom, the austere Prelate said to him rudely: "The Church needs preachers, not flatterers." Theotoky, wounded by this public affront, left Constantinople and withdrew to Jassy, where he was placed at the head of the Dean's school. He afterward went to Leipzig, where he published the greater part of his works. The principal ones are upon Geography, a Treatise on Physics and a course upon Mathematics, which were adopted in all the Greek schools. Later, the Holy Synod of Russia called him to the Archbishopric of Kherson, from whence he was transferred to that of Astrachan. After having brought into the Orthodox Church 5,000 *raskolniki* by his gentleness and his powerful speech, he renounced the honors which he received from Catharine the Great, and withdrew to Moscow, to devote himself entirely to his scientific researches.\*

While Theotoky was in Saxony he met one of his compatriots, older than he by twenty years, who became his intimate friend and whose life bore some very singular analogies to his own. Nevertheless, Eugene of Corfu, surnamed Voulgaris, was very superior to Theotoky in energy of character and in that generous ardor which laughs at all obstacles. "He had," said a fine Greek writer, "that perseverance and that confidence which are peculiar to great reformers." But reform met with many obstacles of all kinds in the spirit of routine in the convents. The disposition of the Eastern monks is not to annoy, betray and rule; but they oppose any new ideas by the great force of inertia. Without asking if it was possible to reconcile the doctrines of the philosophy of Stagira with the mystic theories, they were not less attached than the convents of the West to the materialistic sensualism of Aristotle, accepted by long tradition.† The name of

\*Several writers have written the biography of Theotoky. I will only mention A. Papp. *Vrétos*, and Stourdza, and the *Nouvelle Pandore*, November, 1853. This article is accompanied by a portrait of Theotoky. In the *Mentor* of Smyrna the biographer gives some very interesting details upon his relations with Gregory III. Ghika.

†The very curious works of P. André in the *Bibliothèque Charpentier*. There are found here a thousand proofs of the persecutions the Jesuits made him suffer for having attacked Aristotle, whom the middle ages had in some degree canonized.

Mallbranches scandalized the *religieux* of Saint Basil, quite inclined besides to believe like Pascal that no philosophy was "worth a quarter of an hour's trouble," as it did the Jesuits. Grammar, a sterile rhetoric, in a word purely intellectual gymnastics usurped the place of history, philosophy and the sciences. Voulgaris was so cautious that he succeeded in keeping eight years the chair of philosophy and belles-lettres at Mount Athos, a celebrated monastic republic, which had then an importance it has not entirely regained since the emancipation of Greece. Near the convent of Vatopédi is still visible on "the holy mountain" the tower of "false sciences," as the Caloyers gloomily called it. This tower, which was constructed by a great savant, was some day to be united to "the Academy of Mount Athos." Distinguishing carefully between theology and philosophy, Voulgaris, who was the founder of this Academy, taught his disciples that while theology has faith for its basis, philosophy rests upon free investigation. This distinction, which did not preserve Descartes from the censure of Rome, ended by appearing suspicious in the "workshop of the virtues." The multitude of students who hastened to the indefatigable Professor, probably disturbed the repose of the *skiti* (ascetics) and the ecstasy of the very blessed *Hisychastes* (absorbed in God). Voulgaris occupied himself more in study than in holy meditation. Not satisfied with training scholars, which later ruined scholasticism in the Greek schools, he composed a Logic and Physics, which he had printed in Germany. Proficient in all, he was engaged at the same time with literature, theology, philosophy, mathematics and natural sciences. But all the innovations which he introduced were not better received at Mount Athos than at Janina. Wearied with these monastic persecutions, he listened to the offers of Catharine II. After having accepted the Archbishopric of Kherson, he gave up his episcopal functions to establish himself at St. Petersburg, where he died in 1856, wholly occupied with his scientific and literary labors.\*

Benjamin of Lesbos, founder of the celebrated school

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\* The biography of Voulgaris, likethat of Theotoky, was by A. Stourdza and by the author *Ιστορικαὶ διασαφήσεις ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος Εὐγενίου τοῦ Βουλγάρεως Ζακυνθίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Σλαβόνιος καὶ Χερσώνος*. Zante, 1854—the *Νεά Πανδώρα*, 1853. contained Voulgaris' portrait.

of Cydonia (Asia-Minor), must be counted among those who contributed most to substitute a more fruitful teaching for the scholastic system. Like Voulgaris, he had to struggle against the opposition to this routine which so aroused the indignation of the learned P. André. "Jesus Christ," said the latter ingeniously to the Jesuits, his confrères, "has said 'I am the truth'; but he never said that he was the routine."\* Before Benjamin had awakened in Cydonia the spirit of investigation, the Cydonians had lived as slaves to the traditions of the middle ages. Their city, enriched by commerce and whose situation was charming, for the view extended over a multitude of isles, always green, named the "perfumed isles," finally conceived the necessity of combining knowledge with material well-being. Benjamin, who had returned from Italy and had in vain essayed to found a school in Mitylene, his native place, was called to Cydonia by the *primates* who governed the city. Thanks to the zeal of the demagogue Iconomos, the religious savant had soon at his disposition a vast college, which was resorted to from all parts of Greece.† Benjamin taught there in peace fifteen years. Then, fatigued by the ennui, which overwhelmed him, he accepted from the Domnu John II. Karadja, the chair of philosophy in the college of Bucharest. But the Metropolitan and Wallachian Bishops, who always considered him too independent, obtained his expulsion. Benjamin left without regret the borders of the Danube. A member of the Greek Confederation, he knew that the day to devote himself to the defense of his country was not distant. After having displayed an admirable energy in the national insurrection, and having preached war against the Turks with indefatigable ardor, he died of typhus fever at Nauplia.‡ These were the members of the Clergy, such as Benjamin of Lesbos, Neophyte Vamvas, Iconomos, Pharmakidis, etc., who formed the generation destined to accomplish the Greek revolution of 1821. Vamvas§ and Iconomos lived until our day and enjoyed their work. Constantine Iconomos, poet, orator, philosopher, philologist, and exegetist, Iconomos who had taken part in the insurrectional movement attempted in

\* His works published by M. Marma.—Paris, Charpentier.

† Doctor George Typaldos, an old scholar of the college of Cydonia, published a pamphlet on this establishment.

‡ A. Papp. *Vrétos*, 245.

§ A. Papp. *Vrétos*, 243, *Βάμβας*.

Thessaly (1806) by Vlakhavas,\* became director of the gymnasium of Smyrna, and instructed during ten years a part of the men who restored the Greek nationality.† He was not so distinguished in the sphere of thought as in that of erudition. To justify this assertion it suffices to give a hasty glance at his *Histoire de la fondation de la grande grotte* (Mégaspiléon). In giving a careful analysis of this work,‡ I have shown how far Iconomos is inferior to Hippocratus as a philosopher and an observer. If the portrait which was in the apartment I occupied at Mégaspiléon is exact, the physiognomy of the Thessalian theologian was in agreement with his ideas. His features were beautiful, but the expression not free from an imperious hardness. A long white beard gave him the air of a Pontiff of the ancient Orient. His head-dress was the Kamilakhi (bonnet of a monk) upon which shone a Greek cross. He wore upon his neck a Russian decoration and the cross of the *Sotir* (Savior). Much more independent of superannuated traditions than the historian of the Mégaspiléon, the learned Archimandrite Theoclitus Pharmakidis rendered no less service to the national cause. He was one of the principal collaborators of the *Λογος Ερμης* the political influence of which was so considerable, and when the revolution triumphed it was to him the provisory government assigned the publication at Nauplia of the official newspaper, the *Journal général de la Grèce*. These two personages later on embodied in free Greece two opposite theological tendencies. The Association so instructed the Greeks as to render possible their uprising. No one will question the great part the Clergy|| had in the founding and development of the friendly Confederation. The Archimandrite Dikeos, better known by the name of Papa-Phlekas, was one of its three founders. The Priest George became its most zealous advocate in Constantinople. Armed with two cutlasses, which he concealed under his fustian mantle, he traversed the bazaars, the public houses, all the by-places of the city of the Cæsars, without fear of the plague which was then raging, and succeeded in two

\* I have spoken of Vlakhavas in the *Poésie grecque dans les Îles-Ioniennes*.

† His biography in the eighty-seventh volume of the *Spectateur de l'Orient*, Athens, 1857, and A. Papp. *Vratos*, 313.

‡ *Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée, Part II, B. I.*

|| The Monk Samuel had given at Souli an admirable example of patriotism to the Greek Clergy.

months in recruiting 15,000 associates. "A multitude of Archbishops"\* entered into the Confederacy. The most successful of these Prelates was Ghermanos, Archbishop of Patros, an eloquent orator and adroit politician. During the early part of March, 1821, he united at Kalavrita, city of ancient Achaia, a certain number of Primates (Greek functionaries) of the Peloponnesus, and induced them to rise against the Turks, and had the glory of planting the standards of liberty upon the same rocks where had been formed the famous Achaian league. No sooner had some hundreds of volunteers from Mount Cyllene ranged themselves under his banner than Ghermanos addressed the following proclamation to the Consuls of the European powers: "The Greeks, delivered over to the ever increasing oppression of the Ottomans, have unanimously resolved to conquer or die. We have revolted to secure our rights; we are sure that people and kings will recognize the justice of our cause, and will give us their support, recalling the services rendered to humanity by our ancestors; therefore we beseech you to gain for us the kindness and protection of your august sovereigns." I have found at Haghia-Lavra, (Monarchy of Achaia) the monastery from whence was given the signal of the famous national insurrection, many souvenirs of the celebrated Archbishop. A picture represents him holding in one hand a red silk mantle with a green border, the colors of martyrdom and of hope. The device *Elefteria i Thanatos* (Liberty or Death) has the same meaning as the colors of the banner. Since then I have been in correspondence with a prelate who, as a deacon, was then upon the side of Ghermanos. I mean the last Metropolitan of Athens, Theophilus, president of the Holy Synod, a prelate of ardent patriotism, and holding evangelic views, whose earthly possessions, when dying, were only a few drachms.

At the first cry of liberty, another Prelate, the Confederate Procopus, Bishop of Kalavrita, seized a torch, saying to the peasants of Elis, "Let us cease to live with our tyrants among the tombs, like the timid doves who make their nests in the midst of the cemeteries." Then he burns the hamlets and the harvests, and forces an entire population to follow him with his flock into the mountains. Gregory, Bishop of Methone (Modon), created the revolt in Messena. Diakos, des-

\* These are A. Soutzos' expressions, *Hist. de la révol. grecque*, p. 23.

tined to be a martyr, who had left the functions of deacon to become proto-palicus of Odysseus, was the first to declare himself in Livadia \* in favor of the insurrection. Later, engaged in an unequal combat with Omer-Vryonis, this hero was brought before the Pasha. "Abjure thy religion," said the terrible Omer to him, "or I will make thee roast on the spit." "Command that the spit be brought," replied Diakos, and he submitted to this atrocious punishment with an unflinching courage. Such a hero was worthy to excite the enthusiasm of the priests. Recently Aristotle Valaoritis, of Leucadia, took him as the subject of his songs. †

While the warrior Pontiffs were arousing the people, a secret agitation was threatening the life of the bishops who had remained under the yoke of the Turks. The Greek Church is justly proud of the numberless martyrs which she has given to the country's cause. Dionysius Kalliarkis, Archbishop of Ephesus, was one of the first victims of the Ottoman fury. The Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory, who had already been exiled once at Mount Athos, was arrested Easter Day (April 10, 1821) going from church, and was conducted to the Porte, where he was ordered to give the names of the leaders of the insurrection, and then become an apostate. "The Patriarch of the Christians will die a Christian," he replied. Dragged to the door of his palace, he was hung like a vile malefactor "for having corrupted the slaves of the Sultan, who is the refuge of the world, and incited the infidel *raïas* to rebellion." His death was followed by that of the Archbishops Proghios, Dorotheus and Eugenius, and eighty Bishops or Exarchs. The body of Gregory, drawn through the streets and cast into the sea, was taken to Odessa, where the Emperor, Alexander I., himself ordered to be given him a magnificent funeral, and where Iconomos pronounced his funeral oration, which is one of the most beautiful discourses of this eloquent ecclesiastic. During his Patriarchate, Gregory had rendered the nation great services. He had re-established Greek printing, destroyed under Cyrillus Loukaris, had enriched the Patriarchal library, had labored

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\* Name given to Greece, properly, because of the important role assigned the Beotian City of Livadia by the Turks.

† *Ἀθανάσης Διάκος "πὸ Ἀριστοτέλους Βαλαωρίτου—*  
Athens, 1867.

for the amelioration of the schools and for the promoting of instruction in the national language.\*

The indignation which this butchery excited through civilized Europe must have disgusted Mahomed II. with such executions. At all events, he did nothing more. Kioutzouk-Mehemet, governor of Cyprus, had the Archbishop and the three Bishops of the island beheaded. The Captita-Pasha, Kara-Ali, inflicted horrible tortures upon the Priests of Chios who fell into his hands, when he transformed that flourishing island into a sterile rock. But everywhere, the courage of the Greek Clergy wearied the executioners, everywhere it gave the example of devotion to the national cause. The name of the Bishop of Rogas, Joseph, was famous, even compared with those of the most heroic defenders of Missolonghi. When all hope of defending the place was gone, the military and civil leaders resolved to cross the enemies' camp, sword in hand. But in this supreme moment they wished to consult Joseph and their wives. The Pontiff was first called into counsel: "Monaris is to die," he said, "sword in hand." Then the women were called; "Which do you prefer, death or slavery?" "Death! death!" they cried, with one voice. The Greeks asked for the Eucharist from the Bishop. "Your communion," said Joseph to them, "is the blood of your enemies." Resolved himself to perish with the wounded and the sick, the generous Bishop saw all leave the city, while declaring he would never abandon the infirm members of Jesus Christ. The brave men who went to the combat were compelled to return, and found him at his post, like those proud Roman senators who awaited the enemy on their curule chairs. The remnant of the immortal garrison of Missolonghi resolved to blow it up with their wives, their children and their conquerors. The Bishop, stationed in a tower from whence he commanded this sublime scene, exhorted the martyr heroes of the Cross. He perished while reciting words to the dying.

It does not seem difficult to explain the popularity the Greek Clergy preserved in the Greek Kingdom. It did so much for the country, that Greece will never forget its services. Nevertheless, Greece understood that gratitude

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\* *Vie du saint martyr Grégoire, Patriarche de Constantinople*, Athens, 1853. A nephew of the Patriarch has since collected in a beautiful publication all that can interest the numerous admirers of Eugenius V. Eugenius I. succeeded him.



could be reconciled with the interests of the country. The condition of the regular Clergy has been greatly modified. The number of Monasteries has been reduced in the Kingdom of Greece. But as the convents were before the war of independence the sole asylum for ecclesiastical learning, there is now proposed the creation of superior theological instruction. This instruction is at present chiefly given at the University of Athens, in which there is, as in Germany, a Faculty of Theology, besides the three Faculties of Law, Medicine and of Letters and Science. The literary hebraic course belongs to this last, a fact which sufficiently proves that there is no conception of the immense development that biblical exegesis has made in Germany. The Rizaris school is the central seminary of the Kingdom. It owes its name to its founder who, after having led a life of privation, left an enormous fortune to an institution which he deemed necessary to the development of ecclesiastical studies. Without counting the influence which sufficient instruction affords, a numerous staff assures to the Clergy the means of maintaining this influence. The priests and the monks, whose number was increased some years before my travels in Greece to 5,236,\* work under the orders of the High Clergy to fill the various functions assigned them by the Hierarchy.

The Bishops alone receive a stipend from the State, a stipend which would seem absurd to the rich prelates of the West. The Metropolitan of Athens has 6,000 drachms† a year, while His Highness the Lord Archbishop of Paris‡ accumulated under Napoleon III. the enormous stipends of archbishop, senator and cardinal (they belong to him ordinarily), of the great almoner, etc. The bishops receive 4,000 drachms, the wages of a cook in "the palace" of a Western bishop.

Save some members of the secular Clergy, who, like the missionaries and the professors of sacred music (these latter, some say, || do not deserve their money, for sacred music is only in her infancy), the Priests have nothing to expect

\* Official statistics published in 1853.

† The drachm is worth about 18 cents.

‡ These were the titles employed by the *Moniteur universel* in those democratic times.

|| This music has found a defender in the learned Librarian of the *Marciana*, Prof. Veloudo. Προς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους Ἑλληνας Περὶ τῆς καθήμας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς. Published by the Archimandrite Eugene Perdikary (Venice, 1852).

from the State. The Catholic travellers who accuse them of avidity are wrong in forgetting the Gospel maxim, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"\* This humble condition is quite in conformity with the Greek ideas, who, whenever the conversation turns upon this subject, make the remark that when the Clergy ceases to depend upon the benevolence of the people, it becomes insolent, haughty and intolerant. They add that among them the State is not, as in the rest of the South, perpetually troubled by the intrigues of ignorant plebs, hired by the meddling priests.

It was to be expected that such a state of affairs should decide them to keep the Clergy under close surveillance; since this Clergy, possessing lands more or less extensive, has the means of action which the secular Clergy lack, and their celibacy would give them, in need, the greater part of the time for purposes of intrigue. Also a large part of the monasteries have been closed and their estates joined to the property of the State. Since the promulgation of the Constitution (1843), the ecclesiastical coffer having been suppressed, these effects are administered by the minister of finance. In the monasteries which have been preserved the rule is subject to more or less important modifications. At the Taxiarch,† for example, I have observed that the old monkish communism has been greatly softened. The monks never eat together except upon one day; they have each their own garden, which they cultivate themselves. The government is far from being supreme, the *igoumenos* (Superior) having a counsel of four *religieux*. Again, the *igoumenos* is exalted to the position of the Metropolitan of Kalavryta and of the Holy Greek Synod. The Bishop must know the misdemeanors of the monks, who are punished by fasting, confinement even in the convent or in a chapel, or by expulsion. As to the exile to the monastery of Mount-Sinai,‡ which is used as the house of confinement in the Greek convents, this grave penalty can only be inflicted by the Holy Synod.

The régime is less severe than formerly, since the use of

\*S. Luke, VII, 3.

† The 8-20 of November, the Greek Church celebrates the *Σύναξις τῶν ταξιάρχων*. It is the feast of S. Michael *ἀρχιστράτης* and other spiritual powers.

‡ Upon Mount-Sinai. See chap. VI of the *Vie monastique dans l'Eglise orientale*, 2nd edition.

meat is permitted Saturdays, Sundays and Tuesdays. The season reserved for sleep is always quite short, as rising every three hours and every two hours and a half upon feast days, is required.

The revenues of the Taxiarch are used only by the monks. The convent maintains three students at the University of Athens, and sends at its own expense five students to two of the most celebrated Universities of Germany, Leipzig (Protestant) and Freiburg in Breisgau (mixed). Besides in the monastery, two professors direct a school. It is true that I have not seen this either at Hosios-Loukas, or at the Megaspoleon, etc. Pharmakidis' influence had a happy effect upon the Taxiarch, while the other monasteries, for example the Mégaspiléon, where Iconomos counted many admirers, have remained more faithful to the old Monastic traditions.\*

In every Church, as in political parties, there is a right, a centre and a left. In Italy, Gioberti was the leader of the left; Rosmini-Serbati, the chief of the centre; Mauro Capellari (Gregory XVI.), the chief of the right. In France, Père Hyacinthe, successor of Lacordaire,† represented the left; M. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, is the organ of the centre; M. Veuillot, Director of *l'Univers* (who exerts more influence on the Roman Church than any priest), the leader of the right. In Greece, Kaïras sat at the left; Pharmakidis at the centre; Iconomos at the right. The Cretan Misaïl Apostolidis, Metropolitan of Athens, who died in 1862, may be regarded as a man of the centre. I have related in my "*Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée*"‡ my interview with the learned author of the *Manuel de la morale chrétienne*, who was then at the head of the Church of Patras. Misaïl had studied earnestly in the German Universities, he had directed the Greek schools at Trieste and at Munich, and his studies, together with Western science, taught him to estimate at their just value certain dreams which everywhere delighted the last defenders of the middle ages.

To the same division belongs the Metropolitan of Syra

\* Since my visit to Greece it is possible that some modifications may have been introduced in the régime of these convents. All things change so quickly in the East!

† Yriate, *Portraits cosmopolites*, Le Père Hyacinthe.—This work fully justifies its title; the author places him between Pius IX. and General Garibaldi.

‡ Part II, Book I, *Achaïe et Elide*.

and of Tinos, Alexandros, whom I knew before his entering Holy Orders. Like Misaïl, he ranks among the distinguished scholars of the German Universities. Since he has taken rank among the leaders of the Greek Church, he has travelled in England, where his winning character and tolerant spirit have gained for him the appreciation of the Anglican Clergy.

When it became a question of the connection of the Church of the Greek Kingdom with the "Great Church" (Constantinople), theological parties had the opportunity of measuring their strength.\* Pharmakidis made himself particularly noteworthy in the warm polemics to which this question gave rise. But the Greeks do not resemble the Latins, who weary soon of such discussions and who hasten, because of their want of aptitude in understanding them, to pronounce them wholly useless. Kaïrism could not restrict itself to an examination of the relations that must exist with the Patriarch, questions which, after all, left the dogma perfectly intact, but it called attention to the nature of the bonds which unite Jesus to the Father; that is to say, it transported the struggle from the burning earth where were raging the terrible battles of Arianism, where in the XVI century, in the time of the Italian Socinus and of the Spaniard Servetus, the ardent Reformers of the South had endeavored to attract the prudent adversaries of Rome, born in northern Europe.

The foundation of the Kingdom of Greece greatly modified the situation of the Hellenic Clergy. Accustomed to endure the yoke of a supreme master, it was after the revolution divided into two parts, the first continuing to be submissive to the caprices of the Mussulman autocracy, the second, after some powerless attempts at personal government, has become one of the most democratic in Europe. To leave this epoch; Athens, centre of the national life, must be considered as source of the spirit of life which in the XVIII century had but little action in Greece properly speaking, which was crushed then by foreign rule. On the contrary, at Constantinople and in the other cities remaining to the Ottomans, the surveillance of a power, strongly shaken in these last times, became necessarily troublesome; every reform is the more difficult be-

\* The religious history of the Kingdom of Greece has been sketched in *L'Histoire ecclésiastique* by Stephen Kommita, 2nd edition, published by Serge Raptani and completed by G. Khiote, Professor of ecclesiastical history in the Lyceum of Zante, pp. 303-322.

cause—independently of the despotic use of power, the monastic influence, very much lessened in Greece, has preponderated in Greece enslaved. Now in the East, as in the West, the regular Clergy are essentially conservative.

I have endeavored elsewhere to explain the origins of Eastern monachism.\* In the early centuries of Christianity, the position of the priests and the monks was very different from to-day. The last Patriarchs of Rome have more than once left their convents, as for example, Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. In the Greek Church, as in all the Orthodox Churches, there is more strictness, for if in the West a secular Priest may be elected Pope, as, for instance, Count Mastai-Ferreti (Pius IX.), with us a Priest not only could not be Patriarch, but he would never attain the position of governing the most humble bishopric. The two Churches are in greater or less degree removed from the discipline of the early ages which prohibited to the *religieux* vowed to asceticism, either the episcopate or even the priesthood, a derogation of great importance which has exercised no little influence upon their development. Napoleon I., who was opposed to the convents, never designed a monk should obtain the episcopate, and I believe that his successors, even Charles X., remained faithful to this policy.† If it was accepted in the East, if the monastery was no longer the entrance to ecclesiastical dignities, the secular Clergy again assumed the place which both Christian antiquity and the tendencies of our times assign it. It has been somewhere remarked that the Emperor Alexander II. wished to introduce this reform in Russia; but no decisive act proved that this was so.

At the same time the Greek monks—and this remark applies equally to the whole Orthodox Church—have never merited the reproaches cast at the Dominicans, the agents of the Inquisition and of the Jesuits, and defenders of an absolute policy. The reason is simple. The rule of S. Basil was not written by Spaniards‡ exalted by a long

\* *La vie monastiques dans l'Eglise orientale*, 2nd edition. Introduction. Origin of monachism, its progress and decadence.

† The third republic seems to differ from them, for recently an Oratorian has been given a bishopric.

‡ Oriental Monachism, originally African and very warm, as manifested by its founders, Antony and Pachomius, was, it must not be forgotten, reformed and in part hellenized by Basil the Great. As to Egyptian Monachism, there remains but the curious debris, of which I have spoken in the *Vie monastique dans l'Eglise orientale*, pages 255-262 of second edition.

struggle against Islamism, but by a very cultivated mind which united to the Christian spirit all the science of Greece. The *calogheri* (καλόγεροι, good old men) never found in the counsels of this rule, inspirations which Dominic and Ignatius Loyola drew into a Christianity too much disposed to borrow from the disciples of the Prophet the idea that the sword ought, in all religious discussions, to cut the gordian knot. Furthermore, as the Orthodox Church is not centralized, they cannot sever themselves wholly from the country, as the Russian author of the *Etudes sur la Russie* counsels, and with him all the Roman Catholics who follow logically their convictions. But there have often gone from their ranks martyrs for national independence, such as that Dimitri, companion of the intrepid Thessalian Chief Vлахavas, whom the Vizier of Janina, Ali-Pasha, commanded to be closed up alive in a wall; such as that Archimandrite, Dikeos, who distinguished himself both in the councils of the Confederation and on the field of battle in Greece. Cernes with a troop of the élite, against the Egyptians of Ibrahim-Pasha, these heroes succumbed after having killed eight hundred Mussulmans. Two Greeks alone escaped the massacre. They related how while Dikeos, their Captain, was maintaining himself alone against the conquerors, Ibrahim, marvelling at his bravery, cried to him: "Papás, throw down thine arms, and I will grant thee thy life." "He who knows how to revolt," replied the fearless Archimandrite, "knows well also how to die!"

The influence of the Greek monks was of some avail before Greece had gained her freedom. I think I have shown this in my account in the *Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée* of my visits to the principal monasteries of the Greek Kingdom. Perhaps it is still exerted in a manner most favorable to the interests of the patriotism in the provinces yet under the domination of a religion the rival of Christianity. But it was easy to foresee that even in these provinces the monastic spirit and the laic would have more difficulty than in the past in understanding each other.

If in the Grecian Kingdom, where the liberal spirit is constantly operating, the Church organization has given place to well founded criticisms, these criticisms are not lacking in the provinces remaining under the sway of the Padishah. The Ottoman Government, it has been said, has not enough zeal for reforms to concern itself with the abuses which

may exist in the ranks of a Clergy charged with the power of providing for the spiritual needs of the *raïas*. Furthermore, one ought not to be astonished if at an epoch when the entire Empire was hastening toward decadence, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, constantly exposed to the caprices of a venal and corrupt government, did not always prove themselves faithful to their mission, and if their subordinates yielded too easily to the influence which produced the dangerous spectacle of universal greed. The chiefs of the Hierarchy, obliged to satisfy the every day increasing rapacity of the Ottoman functionaries, were led to obtain by every means in their power money demanded of them without ceasing. The Patriarch who, in conformity to his synod in the Counsel, was deprived of the right to name the Bishops, in contempt of the ancient canon,\* often held of greater account the ducats of the aspirants to the episcopate than their talents or their virtues. Now the prelates owing their advancement to such means can become dangerous pastors when armed with both spiritual and temporal power. "If," said the celebrated Archimandrite Pharmakidis to them, "if you had truly the purpose of making Bishops both to watch and toil for the preservation of the Church, no one of you would be Bishop; for you could not give your money to buy watchers and toilers."† It results from such an organization that the Patriarch is interested in multiplying the changes which augment his revenues. Also when a bishopric becomes vacant, instead of sending there a newly ordained Bishop, the occasion is too often taken of causing a half dozen Prelates, owing their gift of installation to the successor of S. Chrysostom, to travel from one bishopric to another. "Last week," says, in 1853, a journal published at the expense of the Clergy of Constantinople, "came to the Patriarch the news of the death of the Holy Bishop of Nissava, Nectarios. In consequence of this news, the Very Holy Patriarch (*παναγιωτη*), with the Holy Synod, last Saturday named to the vacant Diocese Anthimos, Bishop of Stromnitza. The Holy Bishop of Imbes, Gregory, was named Bishop of Stromnitza. The

\* But the Patriarch and his Clergy gave themselves the title *ἀκράδεις φύλαξ τῶν κανόνων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας* in the Bull which emancipated the Greek Church (scrupulous keepers of the canons of the Church).

† Th. Pharmakidis. *Ἀντίλογος ἡ περὶ ἀλήθειας*.

Holy Bishop of Lititza, Jounanikios, succeeded him, and Gregory, Bishop of Makariopolis, was appointed Bishop of Lititza," etc.\*

In buying the bishoprics, the High Clergy are obliged to deceive their flocks, while selling them spiritual things. If at Rome dispensations are sold notwithstanding the prohibition of the *Infallible Council† of Trent*, if the single City of Paris furnishes fabulous sums ‡ to its Clergy, if the Popes have had in their indulgences a treasure almost inexhaustible, the Greek Bishops who have not the same resources have not had the courage to be condemned to the poverty of Christ and His Apostles. They have found in the temporal power confided to them by Mahomet II. a means of obtaining through authority that which conviction does not accord them.¶

The reign of the "Reformer Sultan" (Mahomet II.) did not alter the customs which had been observed by his adversaries before his reign. This "great genius"—he was so called by a Greek ¶ for the moment fascinated with the Roman Church—this man of gigantic ideas, never attempted the amelioration of the Greeks of his States. Abdoul-Medjid showed himself better disposed. The *tansimat* of Gulhané is an effort toward amelioration. Unfortunately, in Mussulman countries such efforts are always paralyzed by the malevolence of the agents of power. The creation of the *Medjliss* (Counsels and also provincial tribunals) has presented no serious obstacle to the despotism of the Pashas. Neither does it seem to have prevented certain Greek Bishops imposing heavy taxes upon the Orthodox and collecting them in scarcely an evangelical way.\*\* The petitions addressed to the Porte in 1851 by the faithful of the Diocese of Triccala (February 1) and that of Ambelakia (18th of March) give a sad idea of their proceedings toward their flocks. It is evident from these petitions that the Orthodox population "was ruined in order to pay the taxes the Bishops arbitrarily imposed,

\* *Le Télégraphe du Bosphore*, January 17th, 1853.

† Fra Paolo Sarpi, *Stor. del Conc. di Trento*.

‡ Pressensé *Du Cat. en France*.

¶ Justice will not permit us to forget that this temporal power although having its inconveniences, yet has rendered great services to the nation.

¶ Feu Pitzipios. The Propaganda of Rome has printed a large volume upon him as in favor of the Roman Church.

\*\* Secours, droits canoniques, droits de l'Eglise, etc.



and forced them to pay by selling their beasts of burden, by taking their harvests, and by throwing them in prison, forbidding them to bury their dead, and refusing them all ministrations!" The Christians add that "since the *Tanzimat* gives to every public functionary a permanent salary proportionate to his duty, it would be unjust should the Christian people alone, be deprived of the benefits accorded all the subjects of the Sultan by this administrative amelioration. But as the Church has not, as in Austria and elsewhere, territorial rights to furnish permanent salaries to the bishops, each Diocese promises spontaneously to assume the regular payment of a fixed yearly sum, sufficient to assure them a position suitable to their high dignity." It was asked in conclusion "that the Bishops might not in future have the right to put their hands in the purses of the Christian every time it should seem good to them, and to take as much as they might desire."

From the first step in this serious affair the Patriarch appealed at the same time to "the Apostolic traditions" and to the Firmans of the Sublime Porte. The Ottoman Government took advantage of the occasion which was quite awkwardly furnished it, to show that if it was insensible to the abuses charged upon the Pashas, those which were attributed to the Bishops were in no wise of so little import. "According to the Christian religion," said an official note brought to the Patriarch Anthimus V., February 4th, 1850, "they ought to lead it into the right way and to comfort it and never to oppress it. But several Metropolitans and Bishops committing in the provinces deeds of which the most despicable men would scarcely be guilty, the Christian population borne down by this oppression, continually address themselves to the government, beseeching it to grant them its assistance and protection. Consequently, the government could not refuse these lawful complaints of its subjects; it wishes absolutely that these disorders may cease. It invites the Patriarch to convoke an assembly of Bishops and of notables taken from among the co-religionist laics in accord with them, to think over fraternally the means for stopping these oppressions and these just complaints, by regulating their ecclesiastical and communal administration conformably to the precepts of their religion and to the institutions of the *tanzimat*."

It seemed difficult to escape so pressing injunctions. But the clergy are fruitful in resources. The Patriarch

commenced by addressing a circular to the Bishops to inform them that "the general council of Constantinople and that of the Dioceses being encumbered by a debt of about 7,000,000 piastres," the Christians must first pay that sum before submitting the Bishops and the "Very Holy Patriarch" to the system of fixed salaries. The Orthodox people, terrified by this enormous contribution and alarmed by the opposition shown by the Clergy to the promoters of reforms, resigned themselves provisionally to the *statu quo*. The attitude of the Priests of the "great Church" is explained by the circumstances which have since 1821 left the field free to their influence. The Patriarch Samuel, Prelate and Reformer, to remedy the inconveniences of an organization too exclusively theocratic, had in 1764, realized some of the projects conceived by Loukaris more than a century before. He had done a very large share of what would now be termed "secularization." He had called the principal families of the Phanar and the most esteemed merchants to take part in the temporal direction of the Church, in the administration of the counsels, of the schools, hospitals, etc. The Lay element thus became a counterpoise to the influence of the theocracy.

The notable families of the Phanar, who since Nicholas Mavrocordatos had furnished the Domni to Wallachia and to Moldavia, had too important a position in Constantinople to be disregarded. But the national insurrection of 1821 had just changed all this. In Wallachia and in Moldavia, two Princes who were not Phanariotes, Gregory IV. Ghika \* and John V. Stourdza † were called to take the place of the Domni of the Phanar, who at the same time lost the high functions which gave them the control of the foreign policy. ‡ The massacres of Constantinople affrighted the rich Greek traders who sought refuge in insurgent Greece or in the West. Those who returned later, being placed under the protection of some foreign power, had no longer the right to mingle in the concerns of their co-religionists. The Lay element was no longer in a condition to oppose a solid enough barrier to the episcopal claims. The Low Clergy could not, more than the faithful, praise this development of an authority which ought to

\* See my *Albanesi in Rumania*, Gregorio IV.

† My uncle was of Albanian origin and the Prince Stourdza of Roumanian. But the Ghika had reigned before the accession of the Phanariotes.

‡ My *Albanesi*. Alessandro Ghika.

have its counterpoise. Two French Priests, M.M. Allignol, in a celebrated production and\* the Russian Priest who wrote (1859) the remarkable *Notice sur le clergé de village*, have shown us that the Priests see each day their rights restricted by the Episcopate, and their situation becoming more precarious. That which is occurring in France and Russia gives some conception of the vexations to which the secular Clergy submit in Turkey.

The desire for reaction against these abuses complained of, is visible in the *hatti-houmayoun*, 6-18 of February, 1856. It is there commanded that the Priest shall renounce civil authority.

About the time when the French Priest Bonavino renounced the Roman Church to take the name of Ausonio Franchi (1849), the Greek Government had Theophilus Kaïris arrested (1851). This Greek ecclesiastic had, like the Italian philosopher,† begun life by teaching. After having travelled through all the European cities, to obtain by the charity of the Orthodox Christians the funds necessary for the establishing of a house of education for poor orphans, he settled in 1834 in the Island of Andros, where he founded a *Ὁρφανοτροφείον*. Kaïris, whose adversaries never denied him as possessing "great erudition and austere manners," directed *The Orphan's Institute* with so much skill, he maintained such good order and gave the scholars such careful instruction that students were seen crowding there from Turkey and Greece. But it was not his sole purpose, like that of Samuel, Theotoky and Voulgaris, to strengthen the patriotic sentiment in awakening intelligence by a vigorous intellectual culture. Like Loukaris, he looked forward to the renaissance of study. While Voulgaris and his emulators, much more timid than Loukaris, had declared on every occasion that the spirit of inquiry ought to stop at the threshold of the Sanctuary and forbade all theological discussion, Kaïris considered the Patriarch martyr as too narrow a reformer, and proposed to substitute a philosophical Christianity quite similar to that of Kant, J. J. Rousseau and of Locke in the

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\* *De l'Etat actuel du clergé en France et en particulier des curés ruraux*, in 8 vols., Paris, 1839, compare with the biography of M. M. Allignol in the *Biographie du clergé contemporain*, 10 vols., 2nd ed., 1851, a very curious publication by M. Hippolyte Barbier, French Priest, author of the *Mystères du presbytère*.

† A. Franchi who had charge of the institution at Genoa is now Professor at the Academy of Milan, which is a kind of University.

dogmatics of the Orthodox Church. Kairism, the name given to the collection of these theories, made rapid progress. The students of Kairis became its zealous missionaries during their vacations. A great part of the Lower Clergy of Andros pronounced themselves in favor of it, its propagation being furthered by the decadence of the Patriarchate. The Greek Government and the High Clergy of Constantinople, alarmed at the development of a religion so contrary to the beliefs as well as to the interests of the Church, undertook in order to prevent its being preached, to condemn Kairis by the Greek tribunals to seven years' imprisonment,—a sentence truly extraordinary in a constitutional country. Kairis died in prison, aged eighty-two. But this persecution, as so often happens, rather advanced the conversion to his school than destroyed it. In the shadow of secret societies his disciples labor to continue a work which has for its obstacles not only the boldness of Kairis' theories, but the fear of withdrawing from the nation the sympathies of a Clergy which can contribute so much to the complete political emancipation of the Greeks, a part of whom remain under the domination of the Mussulmans.

As it is unknown whether the decisions of the *hatti-houmayoum*, dictated to Turkey by her powerful allies, should be considered as a prospectus or as a law designed to change the situation, lively discussions engage the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire upon the reform undertaken by Abdoul-Medjid.

First it must be remarked that the Padishah, as chief of a religion hostile to Christianity, must appear a strange reformer of the Orthodox Church. The Roman Catholics were indignant when Princes not belonging to their communion, the King of Prussia and the Queen of England, urged the Pope to listen to the protests of his subjects. Ought they then to be astonished if in Turkey the Priests and even many of the Laity are little disposed to consider the Sultan as an impartial arbiter in the adjustment of their religious affairs? Those who complain most bitterly of the abuse of the theocracy become suddenly indulgent when they see the Turks inclined to interpose between the Orthodox and their pastors, above all when they perceive that Rome favors with all its power the intervention of the Mussulmans in the difficulties of the Eastern Church; because she hopes to use to her profit the well known ignorance of the Ottomans.

It must be confessed that the manner in which the *hat* has been written affords to the Clergy many arguments to render it suspicious in the eyes of the Greeks. Also the Laics, who were in no way suspected of serving sacerdotal interest, are heard criticising eagerly an act which claimed to harmonize the ancient privileges with the new order of things. Thus the *Spectateur d'Athènes* says that if the idea of giving the Clergy a certain stipend be good, it has in Turkey many objections. As to the theocratic government, doubtless it is not conformed to the spirit of the times, but it is rendered necessary by the singular organization of the Ottoman Empire, which is exactly the antithesis of every idea of our century.

The insurrection of the Bulgarians against the Œcumenical Patriarch, favored by the Sultan, has given new strength to the party who regard as supreme imprudence the complaints addressed to the Ottomans against the abuse of power with which the episcopal body is charged. Hellenism, they say, environed by powerful adversaries, menaced at once by Islamism and Panslavism, must resign herself to great sacrifices in order not to divide her forces and compromise the future of a famous nationality which for so many centuries has represented in the East, progress and liberal thought.

DORA D'ISTRIA.

BY WHAT LAWS THE AMERICAN CHURCH  
IS GOVERNED AND HEREIN CHIEFLY, HOW  
FAR, IF AT ALL, ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL  
LAW IS OF FORCE AS SUCH, IN THIS CHURCH.

**I**T may be assumed, as probably questioned by very few, that there are at least three distinct Codes of Law, to which this and every other National Church is subject. These are first, the Holy Scriptures, or Divine law ; which, as regards the Church organized, affects chiefly its Faith and Order ; second, that of the Catholic Church whose definitions of Faith and Doctrine, and whose Canons and with established usages, when in their nature and intention, enforceable and appropriate always and everywhere, or, according to some Canonists, when accepted by the National Church, are still of obligation ; and third, those laws which any National Church shall have prescribed for its own government.

The qualification as to the present obligation of the Canons and Usages of the Catholic Church, arises from the fact, to which attention should be called, that during the integrity of the Roman Empire, the Church was not only the Catholic but also was a National Church as well ; and much of its legislation was that of a National Church, and as such, of no binding obligation upon any other equally autonomic and independent Church.

The legislative power of the Catholic Church is co-extensive with the world, and includes all subjects proper for

Catholic ecclesiastical legislation ; except that it may not alter the Faith, the Sacraments or the Order of the Church, nor any other matter of Divine institution. Nor is the fact that owing to schism or other causes, this power cannot now be exercised, any argument against its potential existence, nor against the present authority of so much of its former legislation, as in its nature was not local, partial or temporary.

The only essential and elementary division of the Catholic Church is into National Churches and into families ; the former of which are co-existent as to time, though at first, perhaps, inchoate and unorganized, and co-extensive as to territorial limits, with the Supreme Civil Sovereignty to which its members owe allegiance.

Subject to the superior authority of the Catholic Church, and subject, of course, to the same exceptions which limit her powers, these National Churches are of right, wholly autonomic and independent of one another.

The existence of Mission Churches in heathen lands, planted by one or more National Churches, upon whose spiritual and material aid such missions in their infancy are undoubtedly dependent, does not disprove the foregoing proposition.

As regards the native baptised converts, their dependence upon the fostering National Church, is that of individuals, and not of organizations. They are not dependent as to ecclesiastical rights and powers ; though these at first necessarily and properly, lie dormant.

Should the native Churchmen of the English and American Missions in China, feeling themselves strong enough, at any time unite and organize the National Church of China, however we might doubt the expediency and propriety of the movement, and believe it premature and probably fatal, yet we could not deny its legality, nor, so long as they should hold to the Faith, Sacraments and Order of the Church, could we truly assert that they were in schism or deny their claim to be a living Branch of the one Church.

The inherent power of National Churches to adjust themselves to their civil environments was strikingly manifested in our late civil war. When our National government was divided, and for the time two governments *de facto* were in existence, the Church was also divided by the same lines, and the Southern section at once assumed what, if secession had been successful, would have been its lawful National autonomy ; and in such event, two National

Churches, by separation but not by schism, would have existed *de jure*. But as the result of the civil contest was otherwise, and the nation became One again, so the Church at once adjusted itself to this result, and, with no legislation, no recognition even of the past being necessary, became as if no division had ever been.

As with the Church in the Southern states during the Civil war, so with the Church in the Colonies during the Revolutionary war, the differing conclusions of the civil contest producing, and alone producing, the correspondingly differing results as to the subsequent status and organization of the churches respectively.

Excepting National Churches and families, all intermediate divisions of the Church, provincial, diocesan, parochial, are conventional merely, and not essential.

The importance of some of the foregoing propositions may appear hereafter, and at present will not be dwelt upon.

To the three systems of law above mentioned, the Divine, the Catholic, the National, to which this Church is admittedly subject, some very eminent American Canonists have added a fourth ; that is to say, certain portions of the English Ecclesiastical Code ; and the discussion of this question is the chief purpose of the present article. The expression, "certain portions," is admittedly inaccurate, for, waiving the great differences of opinion among these writers themselves, and adopting to the full, the hypothesis of any one of them, still the great *uncertainty* as to what portions of the English Code would then be actually of force in this Church, presents one of the strongest *a priori* arguments against the claim that any portion is or ever has been.

The maximum claim may be considered as represented by Judge Hoffman, and the minimum by the Joint Committee on Ritual in its report to the General Convention of 1871. Judge Hoffman's position is as follows : "The ecclesiastical law of England consists of, First, Such portions of the foreign Canon law as were adopted in England, including the Legatine Constitutions of Otho and Othobon ; Second, The Provincial Constitutions ; Third, The Statutes of the Realm and decisions of the Civil and Spiritual Courts ; Fourth, the Canons of 1603." "These," he says, "constituted the body of the law of the Church in the Colonies and are now presumptively the law of the American Church ; leaving him who denies their



authority in any given case to show that such law is repugnant to some principle, settled custom or institution of our own, secular or ecclesiastical. This position was stated by Chancellor Judd very clearly and concisely, though perhaps more strongly, in his speech on the Ritual Canon in 1871.

He says: "We brought the Common Law from England, and brought all the Statute Laws in aid of that Common Law with us, and that is in force as much as the Common law. So it is in the Church, the Common Law of the Church and the Statute Law of the Church, so far as it is applicable in aid of that Common Law are in force. The identity (of the Church) is the same. We are part and parcel of the Church of England only under another name, and until you repeal the laws of the Church of England they remain in force."

In this latter statement are included the two arguments from analogy, and from identity, which will be more fully noticed hereafter. I stop a moment only to propose in parenthesis, a test as to the tenability of the position assumed by these eminent Canonists.

The eighteenth Canon of 1603 directs that due and lowly reverence be made when, (not merely in Creed but) in Divine Service, the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned. Is this now the law of our Church or not? If it is, then a clergyman at least, may be tried and convicted for disobeying its mandate. But Chancellor Judd says it is the law now, unless it be shown to have been repealed, which is not pretended, and Judge Hoffman says it is the law, unless shown affirmatively to be repugnant to some principle, settled custom, or institution of our own, which likewise I think will not be asserted.

The minimum claim in behalf of English Church Law is presented in the Report of the Joint Committee to the General Convention in 1871, which gave rise to an interesting and extended debate. It asserts in substance, that together with our own Book of Common Prayer, and the legislation of our own Church, the Canons of the English Church *in use* in the American Provinces before the year 1789, and not subsequently superseded here, provide now the Law of Ritual for this Church.

Of the Canons referred to in this Report, those of 1603, which are one hundred and forty-one in number, only six refer strictly to Ritual, and of all the others, only the ninety-ninth, upon the prohibited degrees, can have the slightest

claim to be in force in this Church.\* So that this Committee certainly, have brought our portion of the English law to a very minute residuum. Yet large or small, the principle is the same; and the effort shall now be made to establish the position that *no* part of the English ecclesiastical law is, or ever has been, as such, of binding obligation in this National Church of ours.

It will conduce very much to a clear understanding of what may follow, if in advance, I define and explain such leading terms as are ambiguous, or likely to be misunderstood; and then by the aid of these definitions, relieve my main proposition from an entangling alliance with many kindred matters with which it has no necessary connection, and which have often served to embarrass its discussion and lead to wrong conclusions. Indeed, I hope to go far toward establishing the truth of our contention by first specifying that for which I do not contend.

By Law, as used in the following article, is meant a Rule of conduct prescribed for human beings by a superior power; there being, moreover, these two inseparable accompaniments to every law: on the part of the inferior, the duty to obey; and on the part of the superior, the right to punish for disobedience. By Ecclesiastical Law is meant a Rule of conduct prescribed by the superior or law-making power in a church.†

By the American Church is meant this particular National Church of the United States, whose organization as such,

\* Hoffman's Ritual Law, ch. vii.

† These definitions have so important a part in sustaining this argument that it is proper to give the authority upon which they rest.

Law, a Rule of human action dictated by a superior. 1 Bl. Com., p. 39.

Law contains two essential ingredient ideas: disobedience and punishment. Christian, note *in loco*.

Law is the command of a superior. Sharswood, note *in loco*.

Municipal Law: "A Rule of civil conduct prescribed by the Supreme power in a State commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." 1 Bl. Com., p. 44. Christian, in his notes, objects to the latter branch of the definition as being either tautological or false, and is sustained by other annotators. Sharswood, in his notes, defines municipal law as "a Rule of Civil Conduct, prescribed by the Supreme power in a State, commanding what is to be done and forbidding the contrary."

"*Jus civile est quod quisque sibi populus constituit.*"—Justinian Inst's, i 2, 1.

The word Superior is preferred to Supreme in this definition, because there may be grades of legislative power, both in State and Church.

was begun in 1784 and consummated in 1789, and which then first, coterminously with our National government assumed legislative power, and entered on its legislative existence.

And now let us see what extraneous matters have been eliminated from the discussion, by these definitions.

In the first place, Law being a Rule of conduct prescribed, we have no concern here with matters which involve questions of mere preference or permission, in which there is no element of obligation, as being the command of a superior power, to which obedience is due, and may be enforced.

Law is a *Rule*, as distinguished from advice or permission; our action in the latter case depending upon our own judgment or choice, whereas our obedience to the law depends not upon our approval, but upon the maker's will. A law which may or may not be obeyed at the will of the subject, is no law. There is no such thing as a law of liberty; and the being a law unto one's self is a contradiction in terms. Neither in this argument have we to do with the laws of good taste or of propriety, or with the so called canons or rubrics of common sense. If laws they be in the proper sense of the word, they have been prescribed by another power than the Church as such, and to that power alone, wherever it may reside, are those who violate them amenable. Paraphrasing Seneca, it may be said that good taste or common sense, often forbids what the law permits; and it may be laid down generally as to any system of law, that the subject may lawfully do any act which is not there prohibited, and refrain from any act which is not there commanded.

There is no rubric or law of this Church which prescribes that a minister when he enters the Chancel for the purpose of conducting divine service shall kneel in silent prayer, nor that he shall stand while reading the opening sentences, and should these reverend usages be violated, it is not believed that the offender could properly be tried

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There may be a law perfectly valid and binding, though not enacted by the Supreme power. The council of a city may be to its citizens a superior power, whose ordinances to them are laws. But the Legislature of the State is of superior authority, and in some matters its enactments must yield to the Supreme power of Congress, legislating under the Constitution of the United States. And so in the Church, with the Diocesan and General Conventions, Provincial and Ecumenical Councils.

and sentenced by any Church Court, though undoubtedly he could and would be tried in another Court—that of public opinion—whose sentence would probably be more certain and severe than that of any Court ecclesiastical.

It should be noticed also that these definitions exclude all consideration of the English ecclesiastical law as being of authority in the construction and interpretation of our own laws. The authority which it has in this point of view, is not that of law, as a Rule of action, but that of a guide or instructor. This is an important distinction which is very often lost sight of.

Dr. Wharton (*Churchman*, July 17, 1880) claims that there is a common Canon Law in our Church, and that "the Canons of the English Church and of the Ancient Church are authoritative as representing that Common Law, by which ambiguous or incomplete terms in our Canons and rubrics are to be interpreted." And one of the illustrations he gives is the term, "decently habited," in the Ordinal; for the proper meaning of which we must appeal to the Common law of the Church as modified by our own usage. Now I can readily understand how the English Canon Law may assist us in ascertaining what our rubric intends by the words "decently habited," by showing us what was the decent or appropriate habit of the ministry at the time of the original rubric in the English Ordinal from which ours was taken, and which by the ordinary rules of construction would explain the meaning of the latter. But I cannot see how this fact would make the English Canon of any more authority in our Church than are the decrees of Trent or the Romish Common Law ecclesiastical, to which we must resort in order to understand and properly interpret our Article XXXI., which denounces "the Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons," etc., as repugnant to the word of God; or Article XXXIII., which prescribes "the doing of penance" by an excommunicated person, before he be received into the Church.

The principle involved in all such cases is simply this, that in the interpretation of all laws or other writings, where there are technical or ambiguous expressions, or such as do not explain themselves, resort may be had to books of art, to contemporary usage or writings, or to other laws in *pari materia*. In a sense, all these, in the proper case, would be of authority, but not in any respect as being the nature of a law, as a Rule of conduct prescribed

by a superior power. Dr. Wharton is himself an authority upon criminal law, but his statements of the law, however persuasive or convincing, are not in themselves, the law.

Again, it should be noted that no laws will be considered as coming within the scope of this argument which receive their authority from *Æcumenical* Councils or from Catholic consent or Catholic usage, not because it is denied that there are such laws, but because they are binding upon this American Church as a branch of the Catholic Church, and not as a daughter or offspring of the English Church. They are in force with us, not as English Church law, but as Catholic Church law, my proposition being that English ecclesiastical law, *as such*, is not in force here. Also the Faith and Order of the Church, though received by us from and through the English Church, have their Sanction not from her, but because prescribed by the great Supreme Power, the Divine Head of all the Churches.

And now only one more disentanglement. It must be borne in mind that it is those laws alone, which have been prescribed by superior power for the government of this National Church, with which we here have to do; this National Church, which prior to July 4th, 1776 had not the shadow of an existence as such; which from that time to the acknowledgment of our civil independence in 1783, had a potential perhaps, but not an actual organic existence, and which from that time until 1789, was in an inchoate formative condition, without legislative power; but which in that memorable year assumed, and has since exercised without question and, as a National Church should, supreme control and jurisdiction, co-extensive territorially with the National civil government, over all the members of her Communion, and over all matters properly subject to the legislation of a National Church, organization, doctrinal definition, discipline, and worship.

With the ecclesiastical status and jurisprudence of the several Colonies before, and of the several States after the Revolution, with their powers of legislation, and the systems of ecclesiastical law, differing widely in many respects, to which they were subject, up to the organization of the National Church; and with question of Diocesan independence, and rights of legislation since then, we have here no concern, except so far as they may historically throw light on our subject. We have to do with that law alone which with unvarying uniformity reigns supreme and unchallenged over all the members of our Communion, wherever the con-

stitution and laws of the United States rightfully claim recognition and obedience. But in order to appreciate fully the arguments both for and against the position, that the American Church is or has been under the government of English Church Law, it may be proper to examine somewhat closely the exact status of the Church in this country, both before and after the Revolutionary war.

Prior to the 4th of July, 1776, it goes without question that in all the Colonies, the Church, even when established by law, was without organization, and consisted merely of ministers and congregations under the jurisdiction, more or less nominal, of the Bishop of London. Its members and congregations were all subject to the English law, whether of Church or State, so far as applicable to their condition and circumstances. There was no law-making power among themselves. The superior power which prescribed for them Rules of ecclesiastical conduct was the law-making power of the Church of England. When the Colonies declared themselves independent and sovereign states, and until their independence was acknowledged by Great Britain, the Church here was in an abnormal condition, ecclesiastically in a state of chaos. As the *disjecta membra* of the Catholic Church they were held together merely by the Faith and Order of the Church, and the latent spirit of obedience in its members, but without organization or discipline. There was no law-making power for them, either claiming to be, or recognized as such.

When independence had become an accomplished and recognized fact, thirteen sovereign independent states were entered upon the roll of nations, and until 1789 they so continued, with wholly independent codes of municipal law, though with much, probably the greater part, common to them all.

And so also during this period, the Church in each of these Sovereign states, by its own essential and inherent powers, adjusted itself to its changed surroundings and became for the time the particular National Church in and of each several State.

The ecclesiastical status of these several Churches will appear fully expressed in the Declaration of fundamental rights, issued by the first Church Convention in the State of Maryland in 1783. It was declared that "*The Church of Maryland* possesses the right to preserve and complete herself as an entire Church, agreeably to her ancient usages and professions."

Thus it seems that as soon as the Province of Maryland became the State of Maryland, the Church ~~in~~ Maryland became the Church of Maryland.

These thirteen National Churches were still unorganized and dependent upon some other National Church, not necessarily upon that of England, for the Episcopate. They had no actually existent law-making power within themselves, but were subject, of course, to the divine law from which they received their Faith and Order, and to such Catholic law and usage as may properly be claimed to be binding on all members of the Catholic Church everywhere and always. But beyond this, they were, if I may use the expression, already condemned, a law unto themselves, held together as before, under the great Head of the Church, by the Faith, Order, and Sacraments of the Church, and by their attachment to the doctrine and ritual of that Church to which they had belonged, but from which as members, they had been, in the Providence of God, forever separated.

Naturally however, and perhaps inevitably, owing to the difference of their surroundings and to the difficulty of intercommunion and interchange of opinions, the customs and usages, and modes of Churchly thought, partly brought over from the mother country, and partly springing up from local causes, differed more or less in all the State or National Churches: as witness the earnest and successful struggle of the Connecticut Church to obtain the Episcopate, compared with the action of the Meeting of the clergy and laity of South Carolina in 1785, which sent delegates to the first General Convention in New York, with the condition annexed, that no Bishop was to be settled there.

I come now to the time when a National government was about to be formed for the people of this country, embracing its entire territory. In the good Providence of God, and as we must believe, by His Holy Spirit putting it into the hearts of His faithful people, these unorganized Churches, simultaneously with the formation of the Civil government, began to be drawn together by the attraction of Churchly cohesion; the Church's spirit of Nationality began to assert itself; and the same year of Grace, 1789, saw the National Congress and this National Church in General Convention, assume legislative power, and prescribe rules of action for the conduct of those respectively who recognized their authority. But in the formation of this Church, no one or more of the State Churches, differ-

ing widely among themselves, as in many respects they did, could impress or enforce upon the others, their own peculiarities, or indeed any part of their distinctive systems of law; and how much of the English ecclesiastical law was common to them all, and how much of this, if any, was to go in force as the law governing them all, could in the nature of things be determined only by their united action expressed by affirmative legislation in General Convention.

And now it might be sufficient, taking stand simply upon my definition of ecclesiastical law, to close my argument here. Because, assuming that definition to be correct, the laws of this Church must have been prescribed either by our own law-making power, or, as there cannot in the nature of things be in any one organization two law-making powers of equal grade and authority, by some superior power to that of our own Church. This superiority will hardly be claimed for the English Church; and therefore, in place of the English Church Law being presumptively in force here, as claimed by Judge Hoffman, Dr. Vinton, and other Canonists, he who asserts its authority in any given case must show affirmatively that it has been adopted or re-affirmed by the legislation of this Church, and then, of course, its sanction and authority are not in and of itself, but because it has been prescribed as a Rule of Conduct by our own Church for its own members.

But it would be doing great injustice to the eminent writers whose conclusions are thus so directly antagonized, were not the grounds of their contention fully and fairly stated; and this shall now be done.

First, it is claimed that the laws in question have descended to the American Church from that of England by right of inheritance. It is true that both civil and ecclesiastical law-writers of highest standing, have spoken of laws and systems of law, as being the subject of inheritance, and as being claimable by birthright; but I respectfully submit that such expressions are rhetorical, not logical. Neither a Nation nor Church can, in the nature of things, inherit a law; such a thing would be inconsistent with, and contradictory to the definition of law as a Rule of Conduct prescribed by superior or law-making power of the organization in question. Such superior power in a Church or State may adopt or consent to receive as its own, the laws of some other Church or State,



to which its members or citizens had been subject prior to its own independence, but without such adoption or consent either express or by such clear implication as to be equivalent to a legislative act, such laws could have no force. Otherwise there would be a law or a code of laws, not prescribed by the law-making power in such Church or State. But inheritance does not require or even admit either express or implied consent on the part of the inheritor. The thing inherited descends to and becomes vested in him, by force of some superior law.

Thus passively, and without his consent being asked or required, the child inherits by the Municipal law its father's property—by the mysterious law of nature his mental or physical endowments, and by the laws of society his good or his bad name. But the only superior law other than the divine, which a National Church can recognize outside itself is that of the one Catholic Church, and in order therefore to fasten the English ecclesiastical law upon the American Church by inheritance, the proposition must be sustained by an appeal to the Constitution and laws of that one Church whose authority both the English and American Church acknowledges.

The next argument is that from analogy, a favorite and very prevalent one. It is said that just as the Common Law of England was brought over with them by the Colonists, so far as adapted to their condition and circumstances, and, becoming thus a part of the law of the land, has so continued to the present day, except as altered by subsequent legislation of our own, so is it in the Church with the English Common Law ecclesiastical. But is the postulate of this argument true? Did the Colonists bring over with them the Common Law of England? So profound and thoughtful a jurist as Jefferson\* denied and ridiculed the assertion. Admitting it however, does it follow that this law of the Colonists became the law of the several States after their independence was gained? They evidently thought not, for in almost every instance, their respective legislatures deemed it proper, if not necessary, to re-enact under specified restrictions the Common Law of England, thus of course making it to such extent the Statute Law of the State so re-enacting it.†

\* We brought the rights of men and then adopted for ourselves what laws we thought adapted to our situation. 4 Jeff. Corresp., 178.

† New York, 1777—Pennsylvania, 1777—Virginia, 1776—N. Carolina, 1778—Ohio, 1795—Georgia, 1784—S. Carolina, 1712—Indiana, 1818—Illinois, 1818, &c., &c.

But conceding that the Common Law did prevail to a greater or less, but very varying extent, in the several Colonies, and that to the same extent, it was in each case handed over by tradition to the several sovereign States which succeeded these Colonies, it could only be claimed by analogy that so the Common Law ecclesiastical, varying in the extent of its prevalence in the different Colonies, passed over with the same variation, to the several State Churches or Dioceses which succeeded the unorganized Churches of the Colonies.

But all this would be quite beside the present question, which concerns not the several State Churches or Dioceses, but the National Church, which was organized before these, and did not, and in the nature of things could not, receive its law from them. In fact this argument by analogy, to avail those who use it must be stated thus : that as the United States as a nation formed by the Colonies or States, received from these Colonies or States the Common Law, which was then in force ; so the National Church, formed by the union of the Churches in these different Colonies or States, received from them that English Common Law ecclesiastical which was in force in them. This argument is fully met by denying that its postulate is true. The United States did not receive, never has received, and does not now recognize the English Common Law as a part of its legal code. Our National Courts accept no law as having the sanction of our National government, if it may not be found in the Constitution or the laws of Congress. That this statement may be seen to rest upon authority, I will quote what was said by the Supreme Court of the United States in a celebrated case\* where the question arose, and was most elaborately argued by Mr. Webster and Mr. Ingersoll :—

“ It is clear there can be no Common Law of the United States. The Federal Government is composed of twenty-four sovereign and independent States, each of which may have its local usages and Common Law. There is no principle which pervades the Union and has the authority of Law, that is not embodied in the Constitution and laws of the Union. The Common Law could be made a part of our Federal system only by legislative adoption.”

Where then upon the authority of this case, does the argument from analogy place us ? The conclusion is reversed, and the proposition will stand thus. The National gov-

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\* Wheaton vs. Peters—8 Peters R, 591.

ernment, though formed of sovereign States, in each of which to a greater or less extent the Common Law formed a part of its legal system, yet did *not* accept or adopt that Common Law ; so the National Church, likewise formed of independent State Churches or Dioceses in which the English Common Law ecclesiastical prevailed to a greater or less extent, did *not* accept or adopt such ecclesiastical law as part of its legal code.

The next line of argument we have to meet is this : that the American Church is identical and continuous with the English Church, and that therefore the laws of the latter, so far as adapted to our condition and circumstances, took their place *proprio vigore*, as part of our Church law. This seems to be the favorite position of Judge Hoffman in his argument upon the question ; and certainly therefore, it deserves a careful examination.

Its suppressed major premiss is conceded, for of course the laws which are once in force over an organization, must remain in force so long as its identity continues, unless they expire by limitation or are repealed by the law-making power.

But how is it as to the minor premiss? Was the American Church from and after 1789, in any proper sense of the words, either identical with, or a continuation of, the English Church? In a certain popular sense it was ; and for some purposes it may have been so held to be, by the Civil Courts. For instance, when a Church building or a glebe had been held and enjoyed by a congregation of English Church members, purchased perhaps by themselves and set apart for the uses of the Church, there could have been no difficulty in the State Courts holding, after the Revolution, that such property belonged, for the same religious uses, to the new American Church, composed of the same individual members, and holding identically and continuously the same Faith and doctrine as before. And it was from this point of view that the General Convention in 1814, when a question arose as to the ownership of certain real estate which had been given before the Revolution for Church purposes, made a declaration that this Church is the same body heretofore known in these States by the name of the Church of England. This declaration, undoubtedly, in a general and popular sense was true, and especially so for the purpose it was intended to serve. But strictly and logically it was not true. There was no continuation whatever as to organi-

zation, but a total and final severance. What continuance or identity existed between the two Churches was wholly subjective—was to be found in the faith and worship of the individual members of the two organizations. Objectively there was a similarity. *Sed non simile est idem.*

And even this identity of Faith and worship in the two Churches, after the organization of the American Church, was not so much an identity one with the other, as an identity of each with the one Catholic Church of which both were living branches. One chief fallacy in the argument of those who hold that this Church is in any way, or to any extent subject to the law of the English Church, consists in their regarding the relation between the two Churches as, in its nature, that of mother and daughter, and not that of sisters; forgetting that the Bride of Christ is One, and She the mother of us all. As an elder sister we may properly regard the English Church, and with all reverence and affection. Members we are of the one great family, to whose laws both alike owe obedience. Neither in theory nor in fact, do we owe our life to her; nor has our infancy been sustained by her fostering care. Rather, if the real truth of history be told, should we look upon the Ven. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as the mother, to whose missionary spirit and nursing care, this Church owed under God, its birth and its successful struggle for existence in the weakness of its infancy. A striking resemblance to the relation between the two Churches, is presented in the natural world, in the case of layering a vine. When bent to the earth, and covered for a few inches by soil, new roots strike down, and for a while the extremity of the layered vine is nourished both from its own new roots and also by the customary current from the old vine. In time, final severance from the latter is made, and the new organism becomes wholly independent and self-sustaining. Still its hidden life, its nature, its flowers and its fruit, continue to be as they were in the parent vine. Both draw their life from the same elementary sources and are subject to the same laws. Yet they are not identical, nor the one a continuation of the other. The similitude would be complete in all its parts, but for the fact that in the natural world there is no autonomy. The law making power for both the vine and the offshoot, is wholly outside, while with the two Churches, the Supreme Ruler vouchsafes to both the right of self government for certain purposes, and under certain limitations. Whatever weight however may properly be

attached to the declaration of General Convention in 1814 it is more than counter-balanced by a Resolution of the same body in 1879; even though the latter did not receive the assent of Bishop White. "That the Protestant Episcopal Church possesses no institutions until made for her specially, and that we are no further bound by either the Catholic or the English Canons when confessedly applicable, than as we distinctly and by legislation recognize them. And the same Convention went on to enact a Code of Canons, re-enacting several English Canons among them. The truth is that both these declarations in General Convention have only a moral, no legal weight. They are entitled to great consideration as expressing the individual opinions of those who voted for them, but at last must be judged of on their own intrinsic merits.

But it is claimed that this Church has in fact adopted the English ecclesiastical law. If this were true, it would not antagonize the position assumed, because then such portions of that system as were thus adopted, became of force in this Church, not as English law, but as American law, made such by the legislative act of adoption. Should the legislature of Pennsylvania, approving some law of the State of New York, adopt the same by reference and sufficient description, such law would come in force in the former State not as a law of New York, but as a law of Pennsylvania, just as if it had been re-enacted *totidem verbis*, without reference to its origin.

But has this Church by any legislative act of its own adopted the English Code either expressly or by implication, as a whole or in parts? An affirmative answer to this question is founded mainly on that oft quoted declaration in the Preface to our Prayer Book, that by comparing this Book to that of the English Church "it will appear that this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship."

I am ready to admit that this Preface, though not in the form of a legal enactment, though without evidence of its ever having been submitted to and formally adopted by the General Convention, and though perhaps only the work of the Committee charged with the publication of the Prayer Book, yet by common consent and by successive publications as part of the Prayer Book under authority of the General Convention, has the sanction of the Church for all it sets forth, and has the force of a declaratory law,

if shown to have essentially the nature of a law. This qualification cannot with reason be objected to; for surely it can have no other binding power than as a law or rule of action, if not in form yet in essence. And still as surely can no law of the English Church not being in force *proprio vigore* be made the law of this Church by anything less or other than a legislative act. But neither in form nor in substance is this declaration either a remedial or a declaratory law. It is manifestly a mere statement of the intentions with which a certain work had been done, a certain code of laws had been compiled and enacted, sent forth to the Church for the purpose of removing doubts and quieting anxieties. As such, it was and is, valuable. It would be a most useful assistant in the solution of many questions that may arise in determining the doctrine, discipline, or worship of our Church. But after all, it is merely, in certain cases, a guide to the meaning of the law, as the preamble to a statute. It is not a law itself, nor can it control the law. In the construction of any legislative act, the intention of the law makers, except so far as it may be gathered from the law itself, is not as a rule, the proper subject for judicial investigation, the ultimate enquiry being not what they intended to do, but what they did. Therefore, in determining any question of doctrine, discipline or worship which may arise under our Prayer Book, we may safely assume, on the strength of this Preface, that this Church in the matter under consideration did not intend to depart from the Church of England in any essential point; but whether in this particular instance she did so depart, is a question of fact to be determined, not by the Preface, but by that comparison of the two Books of Common Prayer, which in the Preface is invited. And so far as the two Books differ, just so far did our Church depart from the other, in point of fact, even though it may be assumed that such departure was not considered to involve any essential point.

Our "Book of Common Prayer" in its legal aspect should be looked on as one legislative act, as one entire Liturgical Code, enacted in revision of another such entire code, as its full and final substitute. It was put forth as complete in itself, and as covering the whole ground covered by the Book for which it was a substitute. In the Ratification, it is declared to be the Liturgy of this Church, and is set forth as a Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the

Church: words not only comprehensive, but exclusive; intended to comprehend all Rules deemed proper to be adopted for the worship of the Church, and intended to exclude other—not practices, ceremonies, but—Rules, laws.

As an illustration of what is meant, I may refer to the oft quoted Rubric of the English Prayer Book in regard to ornaments. Whether a departure from that Rubric involved or not any essential point of worship, yet as matter of fact there was a departure, because, though so important and comprehensive a regulation in the matter of worship, it yet in revision, found no place in a Book which avowedly made provision for the entire worship of the Church.\* And the difference in effect between the two Books as regards this Rubric is that while in the English Book the use of certain ornaments is prescribed as a Rule, in our Church, these ornaments may or may not be used, but are certainly not prescribed.

I come now to the only remaining position, upon which is founded the claim that any portion of the English ecclesiastical law is of force in this Church; and that is custom or usage.

There is a distinction to be noted here between use, as in and of itself acquiring in time, the force of law, which is the *lex non scripta*, and use, as being the adoption, and thereby putting in force, of some written law, which otherwise would not be of binding obligation. Let us now see to what extent the former kind of use may have fastened any law upon this American Church. The *lex non scripta* is held to be in force, only on the hypothesis that the law in question was once regularly enacted by the proper legislative power, and that the written evidence of such enactment having in the lapse of time been lost, its sufficient proof may now be found in its universal recognition and uninterrupted continuance from time whereof the memory of

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\* In 1807, the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania were requested by General Assembly to examine and report which of the English Statutes were in force in that State. In explaining the conclusion they arrived at, they say: "Wherever our own legislature had enacted a law on the same subject on which an English Statute was to be found, it has been supposed that the English Statute had no force here, even though it contained more extensive provisions than our own Act of Assembly: because it was reasonable to presume that our Assembly, more acquainted with the English Statute, had designedly omitted some of its provisions."

man runneth not to the contrary.\* The Rule of its existence is but the repetition of the *quod semper ubique et ab omnibus*. I do not now refer to usages of the Catholic Church, if any such there be, which by virtue of this Rule are now the law of this Church, but to the proper usages of the English Church; and the inquiry is whether there were any such which had acquired in that Church the force of positive law prior to 1789, and if so, whether they were handed down as laws to this Church, on its organization. It may be that there were usages of the English Church which could stand those many and severe tests to which all customs must be subjected before they can be held in force as law, upon the hypothesis which underlies the *lex non scripta* as above stated.

These tests are that the alleged custom must have been immemorial, uninterrupted, undisputed, reasonable, certain, and not optional but compulsive.†

But I will not stay to discuss the question, because conceding that there were such, I still deny that they became binding upon this Church at its organization. It will scarcely be claimed I think that this unwritten law was of stronger obligation at the time, than such written or Canon law as was then in force, and if no part of this was handed over as a heritage to this Church, as I have endeavored to prove, neither was the other. The Canon Law, and the Common Law ecclesiastic, if there is such a Code, must in this respect, stand upon the same footing.

But the Joint Ritual Committee of 1871 suggested another mode by which use could, and as they claimed did make a portion of our American Church law. Substantially this Committee asserted, in the declarative part of the Canon which they proposed to the Convention, that such of the English Canons as were *in use* in the American provinces prior to 1789, became the law of this Church immediately upon its organization, and are still in force, unless since repealed or superseded by our own legislation.

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\* "The Common Law is nothing else but Statutes worn out by time." Wilmot Ch. J., 2 Wils. R. 348. And to same effect, Sir Matthew Hale, Hist. Com. Law, p. 66.

"*Leges non Scriptae* receive their binding power by long and immemorial usage, and by their universal reception throughout the kingdom." 1 Bl. Com., p. 66.

"They can only be known and their validity, determined by judicial decision." Id. p. 69.

† 1 Bl. Com., p. 76.



This proposition was embodied in the action of so able a Committee, it was so ably defended in the debate which followed, and really reduces the quantum of English law alleged to be in force in this Church, to so small a residuum, that it will not I hope be drawing out this article to too great a length, if I examine its tenability, somewhat closely; feeling as I do, that if successful in meeting it, the last stronghold of the English ecclesiastical law, in its usurpation of a place of authority in the American judicial system, will have been beaten down.

The Committee in reporting this Canon presented no accompanying reasons to sustain it. That part of it to which I have referred, was at once very vigorously attacked, and with such effect, that Dr. Mead, the Chairman of the Committee in the House of Deputies, moved to strike it out. It was defended, however, by Judge Andrews, of Ohio, in a speech of very great ability; said by Judge Sheffey, of Virginia, in the same debate, to have been one of the clearest, most forcible and logical arguments on the law he had ever heard delivered on any question. Well-deserved praise, and all the more emphatic, coming from so high a source. As Judge Andrews was one of the Joint Committee, and seemed to have charge of this branch of the discussion, I think his argument may safely be taken as containing the substance of what may be said from a lawyer's standpoint, to sustain this part of the Committee's report. The most striking feature of his argument is that he seemed chiefly anxious to convince the Convention not *how* a law of the English Church could become a law of the American Church—for this question indeed, he expressly declined to argue—but that the very guarded words used by the Committee as to the English Canons, would be found on investigation to reduce that portion of them now in force to so small and insignificant an amount, that we should have no hesitation or fear, lest in passing the Canon, we might thereby be recognizing laws as in force, which we perhaps had never heard of. He says: "I want to call the attention of gentlemen particularly to this fact; because if you look at these four provisions (for Ritual) in that light, you find that this bugbear (the English Canons) is reduced to a minimum, and you have nothing left to quarrel about practically, however you may differ theoretically in reference to the origin of the law of this Church."

The answer to this part of Judge Andrew's argument is this. The declaration that some English Canons (not

specified) became, in 1789, and are now, part of the law of this Church, was either true in point of fact, or it was not true. If true, it mattered not as an argument for adopting it, how many or how few Canons were embraced in the declaration.\*

And the efforts of its advocates should have been addressed to sustaining the truth of the declaration both as matter of law and of fact. The only arguments upon these points were those general ones, and stated, too, in a very general way, which it has been already attempted to meet—that the English law came to us as a heritage, like the Common Law, or by reason of the continuity of the two Churches, or by virtue of the declaration in the Preface to the Prayer Book, or as proved by the Resolution as to identity passed by General Convention in 1814. Following now Judge A.'s argument we note that he is careful to tell us that the use which fastened these Canons upon this Church was not that use which underlies and supports the *lex non scripta*, but was a use founded expressly on, and itself sustained by, the *lex scripta*, or Code of Canons. He admits that the use meant by the Committee was a general not a local use, but he does not tell us how general, nor by what rules to be tested; nor did he explain, what is a very difficult matter to be understood clearly, how or under what conditions a written law may be properly said to be in use, as distinguished, (and in this debate it was so distinguished) from being in force. We may conceive of a practice, a ceremony, an ornament as being in use, but what is the use of a law not in force? Either these very Canons were in force as such in the American provinces or they were not. Then the question arises, can individual members of an imperfect organization by putting in use, more or less generally, the law of another organization, thereby make it the law for themselves and for their organization, when afterwards that organization is perfected. If so, then it would be upon some principle of jurisprudence which I have never heard explained, or even proposed, before the Report of this Committee.

But was the use of one Province sufficient to produce the effect, or was it to be that of all? Judge Andrews thought it should be a general use; Mr. McCready thought a local

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\*This clearly seemed to be the view of the Committee, for they proposed that after its adoption a Committee should be appointed to examine and report to the next Convention which were the Canons that were thereby declared to be a part of our law.

use sufficient. But in either case, what was to constitute the use of a Province? In two or three of them, the Church was established by law, and the English ecclesiastical code adopted; but even then, the canons having been in force as law, would not avail, they must have been in use, as a fact. But in none of the Provinces from 1776 to 1789 was there any Church organization. Co-operation there may have been, but no legal bond of union between the Church congregations of the several Provinces other than the Faith, Order and Sacraments of the Catholic Church and membership in it. There may have been as many uses as there were congregations in the land. No one Priest, or his congregation, could force its use upon another, any more than the Church in our Province, even had it adopted unanimously any one use, or used universally any one of the English Canons, could have forced such use upon the Church in another Province. And it may be fairly asserted that had every Province but one, or had every Priest and congregation but one, individually and voluntarily put in use one of these Canons, it would not have made such Canon the law for that one Province or one Congregation, or even for the Provinces or Congregations themselves putting it voluntarily into use. Simply because such use was not the act of any law-making power, it was not a Rule of ecclesiastical conduct prescribed by the superior power in the Church, and therefore lacked the essentials of a law. In such use there was no accompanying element of obedience required, nor of amenability to any legally constituted authority. But again, according to the Committee, the existence of a law as at present in force, is not to be tested by its having been in use *since* 1789, but by its having been in use, as matter of fact, at and prior to that date. Its use may have been discontinued in 1790, and not since resumed, but nevertheless, it would still continue the law of this Church now in force, and for its violation, a minister could now be tried and convicted. Take the only instance Judge Andrews gives us: he says the English Canon directing the use of pulpits in the Church was in general use before the Revolution. If, therefore, this declaration be true, the law of this Church now directs the use of such pulpit. Could a Rector be tried and convicted now for not using a pulpit?

Or to show the difficulty of applying any test as to the fact of use—Judge Andrews alluded to the Canon which requires a lowly reverence during divine service at the Holy Name. Was it a use or not in ante-Revolutionary times?

Even as to the use in this respect of so eminent a man as Bishop White, two venerable clergymen, Drs. Goodwin and Mason, differed *toto cælo*. Who then can now establish use as a fact one hundred years ago? Who will be able to do so twenty-five or fifty years hence? A law whose existence as matter of fact cannot be proved clearly and indubitably, is no law.

The tests by which the *lex non scripta* or Common Law is established have already been stated. When any one of them is wanting, the supposed law does not exist. I hesitate not to assert that these tests cannot be successfully applied to the use of one single English Canon in the American Provinces prior to 1789.

Finally and in reference generally to usages and customs in the Church, if any such be found in the American Church as can meet successfully all the tests which have been stated, it might safely be granted that they would have the force of law, even though not shown to have been prescribed as a Rule by the legislative power of this particular Church; for it could then just as safely be assumed that such Use was Catholic as distinguished from English.

HILL BURGWIN.



## THE STANDARD OF LITERARY VALUE.

**I**N estimating and passing sentence upon any literary production, it is very important that we have, and that we should use some fixed and generally recognized standard of valuation. We have, it is true, what are called "Canons of Criticism." They are written out in books, and they have for their basis the "usage of the best writers and speakers." But they relate, for the most part, to the manner and not to the matter of literature. They concern the clothing and not the body of thought. They belong, almost exclusively, to the province of rhetoric. And thus it happens that a production may be almost perfect as regards style, and diction, and yet be next to worthless when judged according to its inherent and essential merit. We wish it to be understood, therefore, that we use the term "Literary Value" in a sense different from that which the rhetoricians would naturally give to it. And, when we speak of the importance of having some standard for the measurement of such value, we leave out of sight, and designedly, nearly everything which has been written by the masters of criticism. For it will be found that they have busied themselves with the form rather than the substance of literature.

The necessity of some fixed standard of measurement

is felt and acknowledged, and met, in every department of literature. We have, for example, an accepted and authorized test for estimating distance, and weight, and size. The terms which we use as signs of these different things are, it is true, only relative. There is nothing absolutely long or short, heavy or light, large or small; yet, because of a recognized standard, we have the means of judging—that is, of criticising or estimating—their comparative qualities; and, we have the undoubted right to say why certain objects are longer, or heavier, or larger than others. A yard is not what anybody pleases to make it; and, when we hear a mountain called “high,” we know approximately what is meant. So it is also in ethics, in law, and in theology. In each of these realms there is some standard for determining and discriminating between what is good and what is bad; between truth and error.

So it is everywhere except in literature; there the whole body of adjectives lose their restrictive and definite meaning, and become vague terms. No one can prove, for instance, that a particular novel falls short of what a good novel ought to be, for the reason that the descriptive and qualifying word “good” means with different persons, entirely different things. In ethics, however, we have some sort of a basis; men may disagree as to what constitutes the fundamental distinction between right and wrong; but these disagreements narrow themselves to, at most, three or four varying theories, and, whichever of them we choose, whether this or that, we have something definite to start with in measuring and judging the moral side of mankind and of human history.

The need of a literary basis is very great. Whether it is or is not possible to find one is a question, but there is no question as to the good which the discovery and possession of something answering that purpose would accomplish. Without some recognized standard of literary value, we shall continue to linger in the twilight of culture; without it the verdict of popular criticism is but the voice of an impulsive mob; and the best of our reviews—those most conscientiously written—will very likely prove to be examples of a plunge in the dark; or, of a blow at random. Any one who has traced from the beginning the fortunes of works now famous in English Literature, and especially any one who compares the book-notices printed in our various newspapers; and, even the more extended reviews which appear as the manifestation of the deliberate

judgment of professed critics must see the necessity of our coming, if such a thing is possible, to some sort of an agreement; or, at least, to a common understanding as to the proper measure of literary value.

Again, in our study of the literature of the past, we are at a loss how to rate the relative excellence of different authors. We know that certain writers have won the distinction of greatness, but when we are called upon to give the reasons of their admitted pre-eminence, we are either at a loss what to say, or else, very likely, our reason is different from those of other equally warm admirers. The great majority of readers and of critics, may, in the long run, come to a virtual agreement as to the rank which particular writers ought to hold: whether first, or second, or third, and at the same time, be at utter variance with each other, concerning the rationale of such classification. In the last analysis, most people, probably divide different writers into different grades of excellence according to the extent to which such writers respectively please them; or, in other words, according as they do or do not suit personal tastes and preferences. But literary worth cannot be the creation of popular will. We cannot vote a poet into greatness, any more than we can, by legislation, make the inherent value of paper equal to that of gold. Moreover, judging in this way, we shall be apt to select for our reading those works which accord with our personal bias and tendency; that is, the ones which we do not need, and neglect those which, if patiently studied, would give us a broader culture. Reading only that kind of literature which we like, will but develop still more the original narrowness and one-sidedness of our nature.

The need of a literary standard of measurement is manifest also from the fact, quits easy of demonstration, that because of the absence of such a standard, the world is flooded with an increasing volume of printed trash. A few years ago the popular ambition looked mainly towards education. Everybody had a desire to learn. Now the special and prevailing ambition is to publish something. Thus *cacoethes scribendi*, which Horace so savagely satirizes, has become an itch for printing. There are, no doubt, priceless advantages in the facility with which thinkers can become authors, and communicate their thoughts to the public. But there are also disadvantages, and among them this ought to be placed near to the first. It encourages incompetence; it lets in, through the print-



ing press, along with much that is confessedly good, and, with some productions which may, perhaps, be finally preserved as a part of our permanent literature—a great mass of vapid, literary nonsense. If the people, or even the critics were competent to measure with even an approximate degree of accuracy the relative value of books recently published, the public taste would, in time become elevated; the mental eye of the world would be cleared of its film. With this elevation of tastes, and with this clearing of the vision, would come the power of a wider “natural selection.” The demand for the more worthless kinds of reading would lessen, and a second result would also follow. The would-be authors themselves might see at once, and, before beginning, that they cannot hope to reach or even to approach the generally accepted standard of literary value; and that they had therefore better remain, so far as authorship is concerned, in honorable silence and obscurity. The number of new books is increasing every year. Not one in a hundred will bring either deserved fame or rightful profit to its author. A less proportion than that would supply all the real literary needs of the public. We read far more than can be digested, and the consequence is a waste of time and a decay of mental power.

The subject is far too broad for a single article. Literature covers a vast field, and in each department of it,—as for example, poetry, history, biography, and so on, there must be of course a different standard. It may be thought by some that we have started a useless problem, and entered into a course of speculation wholly visionary; therefore, for the purpose of narrowing the present discussion down to a more definite conclusion, and also for the purpose of showing, that it is not altogether impossible to discover a literary standpoint, we select for special consideration the question of *poetic* value. We choose this particular line of investigation because poetry is probably the most universal and permanent, as it certainly is the earliest, form of literature.

When we pronounce a certain metrical composition good or bad, what is the basis of our judgment? What is the law by which we determine the rightful rank of that production? When we say of a particular piece of property, “it is worth \$5,000,” we have something by which we can measure its value. When we apply the adjective “good” to a person, we have in mind the special qualities which go

to make up goodness. Can this same objection be made to retain anything like equal distinctness when we come to apply it to poetry? In other words, is there any satisfactory test, any available measure of poetic value? We think there is. We hope to be able to show, not merely that Shakespeare stands above all other poets, but also why he outranks them; why Milton, and Byron, and Tennyson, and the whole army of English singers must be regarded as inferior to him.

Carlyle in his *Essays on Characteristics* says: "On the whole, genius is ever a secret to itself; of this old truth we have, on all sides, daily evidence. The Shakespeare takes no airs for writing *Hamlet* and the *Tempest*, *understands not that it is anything surprising*; Milton, again, is more conscious of his faculty, which accordingly is an inferior one. On the other hand, what cackling and strutting must we not often hear and see, when, in some shape of academical profusion, maiden speech, review article, this or the other well-fledged goose has produced its goose-egg, of quite measurable value, were it the pink of its whole kind; and wonders why all mortals do not wonder."

This passage betrays Carlyle's well-known cynicism, and his most unlovely self-conceit, but, at the same time, it contains a principle which is worthy of our careful study. His language when freed from its affectations of obscurity, and translated into plain English, amounts to this. Unconsciousness is a mark of the highest poetic greatness. Is the statement true? The best and the only satisfactory test of its truthfulness will be an application of it to particular cases. After repeated experiments we have found that it generally holds good. We have applied this standard of measurement to all the more prominent poets, and, in nearly every instance, the result thereby reached agrees with the world's estimate of their relative worth.

But let us arrange this standard of valuation in a sort of table. We start with individuality as the unit of measurement; that is, we propose to classify our different poets according to the extent of their manifested self-consciousness. Using this standard, we shall find that they are divided into three classes or orders.

I. The lowest order includes those who have no individuality. They are mere machines, or parrots, or wooden poets, as we sometimes call them. They never touch us with anything like sympathetic influence. They lack imagination, but they are yet more deficient in passion.

They never put themselves into their writings. There is nothing distinctive in the creations which they produce: In fact, they are not creators, but cold and tame imitators. Their verses may be faultless so far as the metre goes. Critics may be unable to detect any roughness or irregularity in the outward form of their poems. Nevertheless, the true poetic fire; the power to thrill and to warm; the kindling fervor of passion; all these are wanting in their writings because they are wanting in the men themselves. Here lies the fundamental distinction between poetry and other kinds of literature. More writers on the philosophy of poetry make form the essential characteristic in that art. This standard of measurement is based upon a different principle. It enables us to distinguish between poetry and verse. It furnishes a good and sound reason for saying to the thousands of young men and women who are rushing before the public with their metrical compositions, and claiming recognition as poets: you are lacking in the very lowest of all the many poetic qualifications, you have no individuality whatever.

II. Next above this class of mere versifiers—these passionless manufacturers of measured prose—come those whose individuality is more or less marked. It permeates and colors whatsoever they produce; and, in proportion as this quality is weak or strong, they may be considered and ranked as lesser or greater poets. The thoughts which they express in verse, they themselves have first forged in the burning fire of their own souls. Their ideas are their own, the style of each is likewise marked by individuality. Having once heard them sing, and felt the thrill of their personal, sympathetic power, we can recognize their voice anywhere, even in the darkness of anonymous publication.

This very self-consciousness, this manifest individuality which lifts certain poets from the lowest class into that next higher, at the same time prevents them from taking the highest rank. They coin their own joys, and sorrows, and hopes, and longings into shapes and forms that pass current in the literary world, it may be for many centuries, and which all those persons competent to judge respecting poetic value, will recognize as genuine and real, but because they never go out of themselves; because their individuality clings to them under all circumstances, they can never claim the name of universal poets.

III. In the very highest rank, and at the head of this whole body of singers stand these poets — and they are

few in number—who can, and who do assume, at will, the individuality of others, sinking meanwhile their own entirely out of sight, losing themselves in the character of this or that hero, or in the common character of all men. They have no seclusiveness. When they sing, they simply put themselves in our places, and utter what we ourselves have always felt, but could never express. They become one with each, and every member of the whole family of man, and, therefore, in proportion as their writings are read and known they rise to the rank of universal poets. To this class belong, without question, Homer and Shakespeare.

And in this connection it is curious to note the fact that these are the only great poets whose authorship has been questioned. And this very lack of individuality is, probably, one cause of the skepticism which exists regarding them. The man Homer nowhere appears in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Those epics might have been written by any one else; they may be simply collections of traditional ballads, for aught that appears in the poems themselves. And substantially the same thing may be said of Shakespeare's plays. Where can we detect his personal voice? We hear only the men and the women whom he brings before us. Modern critics are trying to arrange his plays in chronological order; classifying them according to internal peculiarities of style, and evidences of relative maturity of thoughts. If Shakespeare belonged to the second rather than the first order of poets; if self-consciousness and individuality were the badge of his rank, such a classification would, perhaps be satisfactory and accurate. But, under the circumstances, and because Shakespeare is utterly wanting in self-expression, it will prove, we feel confident, next to valueless.

And now for a practical application of this standard of poetic value. Compare the writings of Shakespeare with those of Milton. Nobody need ever question the authorships of *Samson Agonistes*, or of *Paradise Lost*. In the first of these live works, the poet has pictured not the Hebrew Judge, but himself. The second, is simply an exposition of Milton's personal views concerning the Creation and the Fall of Man. It is the work of a Puritan theologian, and not of an inspired Bard. Underneath all the different characters that appear in that epic we detect the workings of the poet's own mind. We hear everywhere the voice of Milton himself, and no disguise can destroy its peculiar tone. This very individuality lifts

him far above the ordinary class of poets. His majestic numbers ring with the thunder which he alone could make. His lines burn with the fire which he himself felt ; but, because he never loses or forgets himself : because there is no transmigration of his personality, he stands below Shakespeare in power and excellence.

Of course these three classes occasionally shade off into each other. Under the self-absorbing impulse of *some* sudden inspiration those who belong to the *second order*, are lifted, for a moment to a level with the *first*, but they do not remain there. Those who belong to the third and lowest, may, now and then, rise to the second.

Having thus indicated a *possible* test of poetic value and suggested a *standard* by which the relative greatness and worth of our *different* authors may be measured, we leave to *others* the pleasanter duty of applying it. Try Byron, and Shelly, and Cowper, and Goethe, and Heine, and the whole body of the world's singers ancient and modern by this standard, and see where each of them stands. We think that the resulting classification will not be very different from that which critics have already made.

If this is the true philosophy of poetic greatness, one thing follows. We shall never have another Shakespeare, unless the world changes. The intense individuality of modern times, the extreme self-consciousness, fostered by the elevation of popular rights to be the chief end of man, have made it extremely unlikely that any poet will forget himself for any great length of time. In our age when each soul sees only itself, and when all men seek their own, poetry of the highest kind, must, of necessity, be wanting.

EDWIN E. JOHNSON.

THE GREAT MEANING OF THE WORD *METANOIA* : LOST IN THE OLD VERSION, UNRECOVERED IN THE NEW.

**M**ETANOIA is the Greek word—and letter for letter an English one, if we desire it—which bears the sublime burden of the original proclamation of the Gospel. It represents the first utterance of John the Baptist as the herald of the Christ, and the first utterance of Jesus the Christ as the herald of the Kingdom of God. It was their summons to mankind, preceding the announcement of the power that was approaching, of the revelation that was at hand. If we recur to the image involved in the words “herald,” “proclamation,”—the image implied in the narrative—it was the note of a trumpet outside the walls, and the call of a messenger to open the gates.

In order the better to get at its meaning, let us now imagine some one who has never read the English New Testament, and who has had no especial bias given to his ideas by any theological system. All, we will suppose, for him is a knowledge of Greek, and a spiritual instinct which will enable him to rise into the frequent transcendental meaning of the Greek of the New Testament. He knows enough to know that he is dealing with the record of a Divine revolution in the affairs of men, and that the human language to which the account was committed is struggling to utter adequately the depth of inspiration behind it.

He knows that the record was committed to writing only after the bearings of the history were fully understood, and the conception of its meaning was fully matured. He knows that what is before him is a condensation as to events, and a translation as to ideas; in other words, if we confine the remark to the four Gospels, that the historical part is as brief as it is profound, and that the doctrinal part is not only briefly and profoundly expressed, but was transferred to the Greek from the vernacular in which it was at first expansively spoken. He is prepared therefore to see not only a representative depth in each event, but, especially, a comprehensive force in every cardinal word.

In the very outset of the life of Christ he comes upon the word *Metanoia* and in a connection which gives it the all-prominent place. He takes in the significance of its position at once. It conveys the summons of the herald, and of the herald who was freighted with the good news which the whole New Testament afterwards unfolds. Here in epitome, he naturally thinks, must be all the "high Calling" of God. No word therefore in the New Testament can be greater than this. Hence he must interpret it as a condensed expression of what was originally said in large, and as an expression, also, which was fixed upon long after the event, when everything was understood, as the fit one to carry the great burden. If this is its anticipatory reach, if this is its heralding grasp, he naturally sets about inquiring what is its history and what its elementary weight?

When we imagine such a fresh reader of the Greek Testament as this, we place ourselves in the situation to pursue his inquiry.

The literal meaning of *Metanoia*, or rather, the nearest expression to it in English, is *Change of Mind*, a phrase too much worn by familiar use to be available as a rendering, but an idea capable of many equivalent variations in the English tongue. It will be more convenient, however, for our present purpose to employ the phrase as if its native force had not been thus impaired. What word is more expressive than "Change"? what more comprehensive than "Mind"?

"Change," in the radical sense we here intend, when applied to the mind, ought to suggest something hardly short of a transmutation; not of essence, of course, but of consciousness. We understand by a change of place the occupation of another place; a change of condition, another condition; a change of form, another form. We can

imagine the otherwise unchangeable man undergoing, in like manner, a change of mind ; what Coleridge coined the word *transmentation* to express : a sort of mental transfiguration, under which the mind, when placed in a new situation, thinks new thoughts, receives new impressions, forms new tastes, inclinations, purposes, develops new aptitudes ; such a change may be good or evil, but such a change is possible.

For, what is the "Mind" ? It is that spiritual part of us which receives and assimilates whatever it has an affinity for in the world outside, whether that world be spiritual or material. It is the whole group of faculties which compose the intelligence. It is sight and perception, thought and reflection, apprehension and comprehension, all that is popularly known as the intellect or understanding. But it also embraces more than this ; namely, a large portion of the moral and affectional nature. It occupies the realm of the heart. Thus it comes about that, in common speech, the terms "mind" and "heart" are often interblended, one overlapping the field of the other. We speak of the heart as if it were the thinking principle. It has its thoughts as well as its affections. We also speak of the mind as if it had feelings as well as perceptions. The will, too, seems to be as much at home in one as in the other. What the mind fancies it will do, it shortly resolves to do, is minded to do. What the mind also fastens its attention upon, it shortly fastens its love upon. We love with the whole mind, as well as with the whole heart, soul, and strength. When, therefore, we speak of the mind, we often mean the heart as well as the brain, but we never mean the heart without the brain. The mind proper is the masculine, intellectual element, strong and foremost, of which the heart is the feminine, affectional counterpart, always in attendance upon it, always at one with it. As "Man" is the generic name for Adam and Eve, so "Mind" is the generic name for this two-fold nature of man.

When, then, "Mind" means so much, and "Change," may be made to mean so much, to speak of a "Change of Mind" is to stand on the verge of a great conception.

Now we are introduced into the fullness of the Greek word *Metanoia*. *Nous* is the precise equivalent of *mind*. It is intellect, first and foremost, but it is intellect interblended, in its action, with the nature behind it. There is no mystic partition dividing the one from the other. It is the whole soul. It is mind, first, in the sense of percep-



tion, knowledge, thought. It is mind, next, in the sense of feeling, disposition, will. And *Nous* is the body of the word *Metanoia*. *Meta* is a preposition which, when compounded with *nous*, means *after*. *Metanoia* is the after-mind: perception, knowledge, thought, feeling, disposition, will, *afterward*. The mind has entered upon a new stage, upon something beyond. If the prefix were *pro*, *Pronoia*, would mean perception before, thought before, a state of mind before experience; but *Metanoia* is a state of mind after experience; the mental condition which has developed itself after an entirely new set of circumstances has encompassed and invaded the consciousness. *Meta*, therefore, introduces the mind in the act of progress, a "change" taking place either by evolution or by revolution; development through any cause or in any form, when the mind is operated upon by considerations within or by conditions without.\*

In this statement of the capacity of the word we are drawing upon the literal elements of the compound exhaustively. We are obliged to do this because, as in the case of many other cardinal words in the New Testament, we cannot fall back upon its classical use for its Scriptural definition. In the former it was as weak an expression as our own "change of mind," and was employed in very much the same superficial way. It meant a change of perception, of opinion, of purpose, of feeling in ordinary affairs,

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\* A lay friend, after this paper was written, sent us the following: "The force of *Meta* is clearly this, viz., 'end for end,' or 'in the opposite direction,' or 'anew.' . . . . For the root of *Meta* is the English *mid*, and *Meta* is at bottom the English 'amid.' From this idea (one of situation), it progresses to another idea of *direction*; and in this use it has the sense of 'going right against,' in the sense of 'striking fair and square,' or 'right in the *middle*.' Thus it gets the meaning of '*oppositeness of direction*,' and its force in *Metanoia* is to show that the action of the mind is now to be precisely in the opposite direction to what was before the case. . . . I strongly wish I could provoke you to examine the word '*Metanoia*' philologically. In its philology lie many truths. '*Noia*' appears to be a worn down form for '*gnoia*,' (compare '*agnoa*,' not '*anoia*'), and the root seems to be '*gen*,' meaning to beget, produce, or, as we say, conceive. From the same root is *gennao*, to beget. *Noia* (*genoia*) is the begetting, shaping, or production of anything in the inner and mental world; thus all the operations or creations of the mind. The Latin *gigno*, genitor, *gno*-*seo*, English 'knows,' are all from this root. The use of getting back to this philological meaning is to apply *Metanoia* to all the operations of the mind, whether of wish, thought, or action, will, understanding, life."

with the natural consequence, sometimes, of a change of action. It was a current expression for any alteration of mind or view, and for whatever retrospective emotion might attend the fact.

Its Scriptural definition comes to us under very grand circumstances; the word is made over and enlarged by its environment, as if it had been re-inspired and been born anew. We are compelled to seek its meaning in the abstract, native force of the compound as thus vivified by the situation in which we find it. Its history in this respect is that of the language of the New Testament.

When the Greek language, released by the conquests of Alexander the Great, three centuries and more before the Christian Era, spread over the known world and became the universal language, its forms, constructions and meanings met with curious modifications as it came in contact with the life and thought of the countries it had invaded. When in time it struck the Hebrew mind and religion at Alexandria, the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament rose gradually into being, but in the act of re-expressing ideas and principles so entirely out of the range of the Greek imagination, even that perfect and elaborate tongue mounted to a level and breathed an atmosphere it had never occupied before. It took, in many instances, a new color, a new character. There could have been no other result when the wealth of Divine revelation and of the story of the only true religion was committed for re-coinage to the exquisite resources of such a mint. It was now "the much refined gold" receiving the stamp of the current common coin, but imparting to it a hitherto unknown value. Familiar words began to ring with a strange quality.\*

If this was so, nearly three centuries before the Christian Era, how must it have been when there came such a revelation to put into words, and such a revolution to put on

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\* The Septuagint represents only a half-way step in this assignment of the Greek language to the expression of Hebrew ideas. It did not wholly free itself from Greek influence. "The Seventy prepared the way in Greek," says Cremer, in his Preface to his *Biblico-Theological Lexicon*, "for the New Testament proclamation of saving truth. Fine as is their tact, it must be allowed that their language differs from that of the New Testament, as the well-meant and painstaking effort of the pupils differs from the renewing and creative hand of the Master." This shows itself in a less definite use of "Metanoia" than in the New Testament, where it is absolute.

record, as was ushered in with the Christian religion? Upon the Greek language, also, fell the burden of the new Scriptures, and, this time, not by translation but by direct inspiration. The Pagan tongue had to wreathe itself into new phraseologies in order to give what utterance it could to ideas well-nigh unutterable. Words which had passed colloquially from mouth to mouth in the cities of Greece, words which were current in every-day speech everywhere, some whose meanings had never before been profound; others whose usage had worn them thin, now rose into a significance so powerful and so sacred that they could only be used as Temple-money by all ages to come. Expressions conveying a Divine meaning, now most familiar to us, were occasions of astonishment to Pagan and Jew alike when they were lifted into connections which transfigured them. Such, we know, were Faith, Hope, Love, Light, Truth, Life, Peace, Liberty; such were Redemption, Atonement, Resurrection; such were Saviour and Apostle, and many more which might be named. And such was Metanoia. So great as this was what Schleiermacher calls "the language-moulding power of Christianity."

When Metanoia was taken up into the uses of the New Testament it came to mean, according to Archbishop Trench, "that mighty change in mind, heart, and life wrought by the Spirit of God, *which we call Repentance*."\*

"Which we call Repentance!" What a *diminuendo* in the statement is here! The swelling note suddenly gives up its breath and subsides into this! It is *we*, the English-speaking world, he says, who call that "mighty change," "repentance." In other words, this is the rendering of it in our English Bible, and the accredited expression for it in all theological literature.

Here, now, we come upon the practical and all-important point of this inquiry. For, putting these words, Metanoia and Repentance, side by side, is there not, on the contrary, a most radical divergency between them? We are supposing the reader to be looking at the two with a perfectly fresh and unsophisticated perception. He already knows what the Greek "Metanoia" etymologically means; let us now remind him what the Latin "Repentance" etymologically means. In its primary sense it fails to come anywhere near the other. Its central idea is *pœnitentia*, from *pœna*, pain; suffering in view of being liable to

\* See Trench's Synonyms of the New Testament p. 241 Sec. lix.

punishment: hence grief over an act for which satisfaction might be demanded. It would be fair to allow it also a secondary signification; suffering in view of the badness of the act itself, without regard to its consequences. The prefix *re*, back, adds to this the idea of *looking back* with sorrow upon what has been done amiss. The word thus communes with the past, and represents an emotion only. This may be produced by a change of mind, and it may have influence in producing a change of mind. It may be potentially equal to amendment of life, but it is forcing the word to put that meaning into it, and more than forcing is necessary to make it "express that mighty change in mind, heart, and life, wrought by the Spirit of God" which Archbishop Trench admits is the meaning of Metanoia. At the best it can only hang on the skirts of the great Greek expression, for *that* means a movement of the whole mind *forward*, to which a looking backward is only incidental. Metanoia embraces *any* consideration which may cause the mind to change. It implies the whole circle of influences, repentance among them, which may affect or mold the mind. It necessarily brings about repentance as one of the results of its operation, but it brings about reformation of life as the great result of all.

In saying this we do not intend to ignore the office of repentance in its strict sense, nor to put that all-necessary conviction of sin which characterizes the Christian Religion in any indirect relation to the Christian life. We are only questioning the word as a rendering of Metanoia; as representing only an emotion, not intellection in any way. Far back in the heart is the capacity for that emotion shut up, awaiting its proper occasions. We cannot conceive of its coming into activity unless the mind has been already engaged, but we can conceive of the mind being full of many processes, involving change of thought, or purpose, or feeling, wherein it has not been concerned at all. In this lies its first palpable incompetency to represent so comprehensive a word. But it may be said that it has been given a signification, theologically, which bears it into all that is equivalent to a change of mind, and even further than that, to amendment of life. It has, we are told, this recognized meaning among all evangelical authorities, and is so understood by all practical Christians. If this were really so, and it had so burst the chrysalis of its etymology as to float in our consciousness arbitrarily and absolutely for as much as this, even then it were impracti-

cable to make it compass what is meant by *Metanoia* in the New Testament. The common uses of language drag it down. It cannot sustain itself at such a height. Not only are the meshes of its origin inseparable from it, but it is too much in the web of popular speech. No word is used more loosely even by theologians, except among very careful precisians. It slips out everywhere in untechnical connections. It *will* back to its vernacular use. It *will* emerge from the popular dictionary, in its native and simple meaning, the richest and weightiest of all its familiar sisterhood of synonyms, to give force to the diction when sorrow of a godly kind is meant. Even in the Prayer Book it is convertibly employed with "penitence," and there is every indication that there nothing more is intended by it.\* It has proved too strong and full for this in the penitential atmosphere of the Christian life, to be parted with for advanced dogmatical purposes only. Hence an element of confusion which robs it of dogmatical force.

But there is another. In the Authorised Version we find it varying about in a way that requires often considerable spiritual discernment to tell where it stands for *Metanoia*, and where it does not; for there is another word, *Metameleia*, which exactly means repentance in its strict sense, and is also so rendered. This variation occurs frequently enough to make us wonder whether the translators attached any distinct doctrinal significance to it at all, and we might also be pardoned for wondering whether they were fully aware

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\* A few instances, in the Prayer Book, not only of the synonymous use of "penitence" and "repentance," but also of their distinction from "amendment of life":—In the General confession: "Restore thou those who are *penitent* according to thy promises." In the larger Absolution, "Declare and pronounce. . . . being *penitent* . . . Wherefore . . . grant us true *repentance*." In the shorter Absolution: "Promised forgiveness of sins to all those who with *heartly repentance* and true faith turn unto Him." In the Litany: "Give us true *repentance*, and endue us with grace to *amend our lives*." Collect for Ash-Wednesday: "Dost forgive the sins of all those who are *penitent*, create and make in us *new and contrite hearts*." Third Ash-Wednesday prayer; "Who meekly acknowledge our vileness, and truly *repent* us of our faults," In the Communion Exhortation: "If with a true *penitent* heart . . . *repent* ye truly of your sins past, have a lively and steadfast faith, *amend your lives*." "Ye who truly *repent* . . . and *intend to lead a new life*." In the Confession: "We acknowledge and bewail, &c., . . . We do earnestly *repent, and are heartily sorry*." In the Family Prayer; "Give them *repentance and better minds*," &c., &c.

of the unique value of Metanoia wherever they found it.\* When the English Scriptures themselves do not make a distinction it can hardly be expected that theological formularies will succeed in doing so. And, moreover, as the English Bible is written in the common language of the people, and, as such, belongs to our heritage of English literature, it blends itself more with this than with the technicalities of theology; its forms of speech are popular, and what is meant by repentance in general literature, in current talk, and in dictionary definitions will necessarily be understood as intended by it. "Repentance" is a favorite word among all writers, especially those engaged in depicting life and action; let anyone pause at it as it comes up in his general reading, and he will find what it is in the consciousness of the people, and how far short, therefore, it must always fall of the Biblical word Metanoia.

But there is another and even more serious matter involved in this confusion of meaning. The use of the word

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\*What are we to think, for instance, when we read that Judas "repented himself" (*μεταμελῶν*), or how vivid must the peculiar sense of Metanoia—even the admitted one—have been in minds which could dismiss the following passage to be "understood of the people"?

"For though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent (*μεταμέλωμαι*), though I did repent, (*μεταμελόμην*). Now I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance (*μετάνοιαν*): . . . For godly sorrow worketh repentance (*μετάνοια*), unto salvation not to be repented of (*ἀμεταμέλητον*)," ii. Cor., 7, 8, 10. Where is Metanoia in its lone and comprehensive grandeur here? In the original it stands nobly at the top in the ascending scale, but not in the version. Where, too, is "Evangelical repentance"? Certainly, in this place, not apparently above the other kind.

Judas was unquestionably equal to repentance, as people generally understand it, but was, as unquestionably, far short of Metanoia as his Master understood it. S. Paul could very naturally repent of having written a letter which had caused pain, and as naturally reverse the feeling when he found that sorrow had produced so substantial a thing as a change of mind, the condition of all others that he most valued, in which he stood himself, which, when attained, was so fixed as to be equivalent to "salvation not to be repented of." And yet these two unequal words of the original are yoked under one and the same English word; and this very English word is conveniently supposed by some to bear two senses, one sense natural and the other technical!

The revisers, in this awkward passage, have translated (*μεταμέλωμαι*) "regret," leaving *μετάνοια* to "repentance." But Judas, it will be seen, Matt., 27, 3, still "repents himself"! His remorse, fruitful only of hemp, continues to be as respectably characterised, in the

"repentance" for Metanoia has thrown an almost exclusively emotional character around both the original proclamation of the Gospel and its present call. Despite himself the reader hears the "Repent ye!" of John the Baptist and of the Saviour, like a cry, a note of danger, full of terror, amid which the hearts of the people stood still, instead of what it really was, the invocation of a mind, heart, and life which should befit such a glad and glorious change as the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. If the call had really been "Repent ye!" it would have been only an appeal to the feelings; and as, without question, a great deal of the call of the Gospel is to the conscience where it "looks back" to what has been done amiss, and for which punishment has been incurred, it is not strange that in many quarters this supposed appeal to the impenitent nature only, has been taken up as the burden of *all* preaching, all spiritual counsel; an appeal in their hands, often wrought up with terrific penal imagery, and then the fright which has ensued and its consequences have been accepted as the change of heart. Or, if not always so grossly mistaken, yet there is a tendency thus created to regard an emotional condition, a general passion of religious feeling, however induced, as the seat of efficacy with God, and as the only safe and promising state in which to begin and continue the Christian life. Even more: this is sometimes considered as itself the Christian life. The result has often been the extraordinary incongruity of a life of zeal unaccompanied by a life principle, penitence and faith developed in conspicuous measure in view of an *ideal* sinfulness! and the living conscience, the practical right, sunk in Pharisaic forms which satisfy certain low standards of outward righteousness! The Metanoia is not here. The profound ethical sense has not been awakened at all. Fear has no genuine ethical

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New Version, as if he had been "made sorry after a godly sort." So again, in Rom. II, 29, ἀμεταμέλητα is rendered "without repentance." See also elsewhere. The revisers who have kept so carefully to S. Mark's oft-repeated "straightway," for the sake of uniformity, might also have kept these words apart, throughout, for a better reason.

Dr. Roberts, in his "Companion to the Revised N. T.," speaks of these two words as "most desirable to distinguish wherever that is possible. The one word," he says, "means simply to 'rue' or 'regret,' a course which has been followed; the other, implies that thorough *change of mind* which is implied in Christian repentance." But he continues, (and he must be referring to the assigned or the self-imposed limitations under which the revisers labored,) "unfortunately, it is not always possible to express the distinction in our language." (p. 124.)

power. Sorrow has no sure ethical consequence. Excitement of any kind can bear, of itself, no ethical fruit. None of these can have respect with God. The only thing that can be regarded by Him is that which He has arranged everything to bring about in us: that spiritual perception of the right and the true which grows within and around a mind that is being gradually educated up to the Divine standard; the nature wide open in front, not only looking behind, and receiving the whole counsel of God, not a part of it; every faculty enlightened, every feeling inspired; the entire man engaged; conviction, not excitement; earnestness, not impulse; habitude, not paroxysm; the heart tempered by the understanding, the understanding warmed by the heart; this, the consummate and yet attainable condition, this, the Metanoia, lived alike by Master and disciple, this, the "Mind" of Christ, and made possible to all by the Spirit of God—this is not conveyed in the "Repent ye!" of our Gospels, nor does it come within the range of much of the teaching which falls on the world's ear. The all-encompassing grandeur of an announcement which takes in the whole of life, and calls upon man to enlarge his consciousness with the eternal and the spiritual, to live on the scale of another life, to let his character grow under this great knowledge, to let his conduct fall into the lines of the revealed Divine will—all this is lost.

How did such an extraordinary mistranslation get into our New Testament? It can be attributed to what we have already hinted at, and some evidence of which we have already given, namely, a failure to grasp the comprehensive and far-reaching character of the word. It came too early in the record for the translators to perceive its transcendental level. This they easily did with the other words we have named, which came later, and when they had mounted the swell of the ocean on which they had embarked. They did not catch this at once as the key-note of the New Testament, for the strain of the Old had not yet died away. And there was, besides, another music ringing in their ears: the sombre tones of a traditional theology which even the thunders of the Reformation had not drowned. The age, too, was a Latin-speaking age. The translators read their Greek through the lenses of a language whose grain was too coarse to admit its finer spirit. The Vulgate also was an authority older than any manuscript they possessed. They could not bring themselves to render its



"Do penance," for Metanoëite, but they could not divest themselves of the impression of "penitence" with which that rendering tinged the word. Still they showed some signs of divergence, and it led to controversy. Beza, for instance, had revolted so far as to get his composition of Metanoia wrong, and make it *Meta* and *anoia*, a change from a "want of mind," a change from "folly," and so rendered it *resipiscencia* in his Latin version, an act, however, which still showed his mental bias.\*

We have not the authorities at hand to prove the fact but it looks very much as if the English translators, who depended so much upon Beza and his Greek text, were misled by the same bias and compounded Metanoia in the same way. If they did, it explains everything. Their *repentance* were a very good rendering in that case, and hence, then, the uncertain sound with which their New Testament opens to this day. But what shall we say for the Revised Version if this be so? The Revisers do not so compound it. Is it possible that so palpable a misinterpretation of the Greek has now been perpetuated because it had grown like a fossil into the substance of popular theology and so escaped recognition in the Greek as a fossil?

It may now be imagined with what interest and expectation we looked forward to the New Version, realizing full well the difficulty of reproducing the original in this place and elsewhere more faithfully, and of making a change so

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\* The reader will be interested in getting a glimpse into this controversy when it started at the opening of the Reformation. "Luther, it will be remembered, first saw the practical value of philological study when he was puzzling over the expression *poenitentiam agite*, 'do penance,' which the Vulgate uses for the Greek word that in the English translation is rendered 'repent.' Was it possible, he said to himself, that Christ and the Apostles could really bid men do penance? Did the New Testament really stand on the side of his opponents, and of all the gross corruptions which the doctrine of penance had introduced? Melancthon solved this difficulty by showing to Luther that the Greek word *metanoëite*, which Jerome had translated 'do penance,' really and etymologically meant 'change your mind.' From that moment the Reformation entered into a conscious alliance with the New Learning."

Prof. W. Robertson Smith. "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.—Lect. II.

The Genevan version, a Continental and more independent one, with which the Authorized Version ran in rivalry for nearly fifty years, rendered Metanoëite "Amend your lives." The Authorized itself has a marginal rendering in S. Matthew's Gospel alternative to "fruits meet for repentance": "answerable to amendment of life": omitted, however, in the New Version.

startling, but hoping that, *at the least*, a marginal rendering would indicate the literal alternative, or a glossarial note define the Greek expression in a way that would go far to correct the English one. But the Revision flows on, making a ripple of change in almost every verse, yet with not a sign of perturbation over this sunken rock. Neither a light-ship nor a buoy warns of a spot where there has been shipwreck before now.

We understand, however, that it was the subject of discussion among the revisers, and that the matter was finally passed by, not because the present rendering was satisfactory, but because no *one* equivalent English word could be found comprehensive enough for the purpose. What then has been so long lost in the Old Version, remains unrecovered in the New because of a reluctance to employ a paraphrase! The poverty of our language, in this respect, is to keep *us* poor; or, it may be, something else was at the bottom of it, symptoms of which are apparent in other instances. It may have been the reluctance of that kind of conservatism which prefers not to disturb traditional notions or long-established formularies. We comfort ourselves, however, with the thought that the New Version is not a finality, but only tentative to that which shall yet meet the brave demand of the nineteenth century. What we have is a bold and noble move, but the whole of English Christendom are in council over it now, and suggestions and criticisms will flow in for some years to come; changes of view also will take place, making the way clearer and easier to a more fearless and absolute transfer of the original into our native tongue.

We feel prepared, at least, to say, with regard to the present subject, that the necessary employment of a paraphrase should not be an occasion for hesitation in making so important an alteration. We can leave it to the candid reader to judge which is the most objectionable; a resort to a paraphrase which really translates, or the preference for a technical word, to say nothing of an uncertain one, which is always in need of translation. Better, even, were the bald phrase "change of mind," with an explanation which would give it fulness and dignity, than the misleading rendering we have to put up with now. There is no fear but that a nobler expression can be framed, for S. Paul himself, as we shall shortly see, found no difficulty in ringing many changes upon the word, which melt very kindly into simple English.

So far as we have now gone we have probably done more to awaken the reader's attention to the question of the inadequacy of "repentance" as a rendering of *Metanoia*, than to convince him that the position is rightly taken. We must go for the evidence of this to the Scriptures themselves; but, in doing so, let us recur first to our imaginary scholar whom we have supposed to be receiving his impression freshly from the original. Happily, as it turns out, we are not obliged to go so far as to imagine such a scholar, for the impressions of an actual one of that kind came recently to our hand which are in such singular coincidence with the view we are trying to present that we venture to quote them entire. We are glad also to avail ourselves of his brief dissertation as a guide in directing a part of the inquiry.

That accomplished master of Greek, De Quincey, (who, if any one ever did, held his mind clear and free in a scholarly consciousness of the transcendent atmosphere into which the Greek language rose when it was summoned to meet the necessities of Christian truth and the exigencies of Divine inspiration) was, it seems, actually confronted by an intelligent friend, with the very question which is now engaging us. The record of it will be found in his *Autobiographic Sketches*.\*

"Lady Carbury," he writes, "one day told me that she could not see any reasonable ground for what is said of Christ, and elsewhere of John the Baptist, that he opened his mission by preaching 'Repentance.' Why 'Repentance'? Why then, more than at any other time? Her reason for addressing this remark to me was that she feared there might be some error in the translation of the Greek expression. I replied, that, in my opinion, there was, and that I had myself always been irritated by the entire irrelevance of the English word, and by something very like cant, on which the whole burden of the passage is thrown. How was it any natural preparation for a vast spiritual revelation that men should, first of all, acknowledge

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\*"He (De Quincey) passed through a number of schools and . . . was distinguished for his eminent knowledge of Greek. At fifteen he was pointed out by his Master (himself a ripe scholar) to a stranger in the remarkable words. 'That boy could harangue an Athenian mob better than you or I could address an English one.' . . . In this, as in the subtilty of the analytical power, De Quincey must have strangely resembled Coleridge." Harriet Martineau, "*Biographical Sketches*," p. 95.

any special duty of repentance? The repentance, if any movement of that nature could be intelligently supposed called for, should more naturally follow this great revolution—which as yet, both in its principle and in its purpose was altogether mysterious—than herald it, or ground it. *In my opinion the Greek word, Metanoia, concealed a most profound meaning—a meaning of prodigious compass—which bore no allusion to any ideas whatever of repentance.* The *Meta* carried with it an emphatic expression of its original idea—the idea of transfer, of translation; or, if we prefer a Grecian to a Roman appareling, the idea of a *metamorphosis*. And this idea, to what is it applied? Upon what object is the idea of spiritual transfiguration made to bear? Simply upon the *noetic* or intellectual faculty—the faculty of shaping and conceiving things under their true relations. The holy herald of Christ, and Christ Himself, the finisher of prophecy, made proclamation alike of the same mysterious summons, as a baptism or rite of initiation, namely, *Metanoie*. Henceforth transfigure your theory of moral truth; the old theory is laid aside as infinitely insufficient; a new and spiritual revelation is established, *Metanoie*. Contemplate moral truth as radiating from a new centre; apprehend it under transfigured relations.

“John the Baptist, like other earlier prophets, delivered a message which, probably enough, he did not himself more than dimly understand, and never in its full compass of meaning. Christ occupied another station. Not only was He the original Interpreter, but He was Himself the Author—Founder at once, and Finisher—of the great transfiguration applied to ethics, which He and the Baptist alike announced as forming the code of the new revolutionary era now opening its endless career. The human race was summoned to bring a transfiguring sense and spirit of interpretation (*Metanoia*) to a transfigured ethics. An altered organ to an altered object. This is by far the grandest miracle recorded in Scripture. No exhibition of blank power—not the arresting of the earth's motion—not the calling back of the dead to life, can approach in grandeur to this miracle which we daily behold; namely, the inconceivable mystery of having written and sculptured upon the tablets of man's heart a new code of moral distinctions, all modifying—many reversing—the old ones. What would have been thought of any prophet, if he should have promised to transfigure the celestial mechanics; if he had said, I will create a new pole-star, a new Zodiac, and

new laws of gravitation ; briefly, I will make a new earth and new heavens? And yet a thousand times more awful it was to undertake the writing of new laws upon the spiritual conscience of man. Metanoëite! (was the cry from the wilderness). Wheel into a new centre your moral system—*geo-centric* has that system been up to this hour—that is, having earth and the earthly for its starting point; henceforth make it *helio-centric*, (that is with the Sun, or the heavenly, for the principle of motion).”\*

This brilliant statement we believe to be true as far as it goes ; but the heralding was not all a bare summons. It was accompanied by every credential which the Summoner could show ; not only the credential of signs and wonders, but of teachings, which evidently enclosed far more than was apparent, which held out an ulterior meaning to be disclosed in due time ; teachings which penetrated to the very soul, and moved the heart of the age wherever they were heard. Metanoia was the theme—the *programma*—projected, and everything that was afterward spoken wrought out its meaning upon the mind of the time; sensibly or insensibly preparing and making ready its way. It was the great harbinger word of the Gospel, bearing witness to the “Light.” So, while, as De Quincey says, it was a prodigious assumption, the assumption of a power to work the most stupendous of miracles, it, at the same time, assumed the capacity in man to make the miracle possible. Christ would wait for the word to tell. This was His method throughout, even in special instances. For example : “Destroy this temple,” said He, at the very outset, to those who questioned His authority to expel the traders, “and in three days I will raise it up!” It was only after Pentecost that the Evangelist was able to add: “He spoke of the temple of His body.” But just as that declaration sunk into their minds, and worked unconsciously there ; indeed, worked in the minds of some of

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\* De Quincey's works “Autobiographic Sketches,” Vol I, p. 434.

In a closing note to the “Supplementary Essay on the Essenes,” he recurs to the subject again : “Metanoia—which word I contend cannot properly be translated *Repentance*; for it would have been pure cant to suppose that age or any age, as more under a summons to repentance than any other assignable. I understand by Metanoia a revolution of thought—a great intellectual change—in the accepting a new centre for all moral truth from Christ ; which centre it was that subsequently caused all the offence of Christianity to the Roman people.”

them till it reappeared three years after as one of the taunts flung up at Him on the Cross: "Thou that destroyest the Temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself!" so the summons to a mysterious Metanoia must have kept their whole consciousness thrilled with the sense of a strange experience, and as strange expectation, dumb and unintelligible, perhaps, but preparing the ground for what was to be sown in it.

What could have helped a great scheme of progress better than to put a word of prophecy at the beginning of it? What could have helped the teacher more than a preliminary word which was equivalent to an inspiration in its power to stir every fibre, and create a boundless desire to learn and to know? Such an all-permeating word was like the slow fusion of the metal for the mould and the slow cooling of it while it was assuming a new form. It was proclaiming a change of mind, and creating it at the same moment, by drawing the subject of it into active and intelligent participation.

De Quincey has given the weight of his authority, as a scholar, to the *intellectual* bearing of the word Metanoia, in the extraordinary use to which it is applied in the New Testament. But he might have included in his statement its equal and coincident range in the sphere of the moral and affectional nature. *Nous*, as we have already said, corresponds perfectly to *mind*. It allows our conception of an intellectual consciousness to let itself down into the whole possible profundity of a spiritual consciousness. This is, perhaps, implied in what he says, and it is as well that the stress was laid by him on the intellectual character of the expression, inasmuch as this is the very point that is most in danger of being lost sight of, and is of vast importance in any complete consideration of the subject.

The office of the intellect in the apprehension of Divine truth is not given its due consequence. "The *noetic* faculty, or the faculty of shaping and conceiving things under their true relations," to use De Quincey's expression, is foremost in all human action—it is *first*. The fact of the dependence of our whole nature upon it is almost too palpable to dwell upon, and yet the instantaneous flash with which outward things sometimes pass through it into the heart often leads us to ignore the office of the medium by which they entered.

Take a common instance of this unconsciousness. The hymn which, as it is sung, suffuses the soul with religious

emotion, has gone, in less than the twinkling of an eye, through a full and varied intellectual process of which the soul has taken no notice. First, the perception of its meaning; next, the perception of its beauty as an expression of the meaning to the degree that sensibility is excited; next, the susceptibility to its musical rendering which intensifies the sensibility; next, the throng of associations which comes, partly from the memory, partly from the imagination, and, like the legendary angel of Bethesda, stirs the waters of feeling welling up beneath—these are purely intellectual. We are hardly aware, unless we watch the mechanism of our nature, how much and how continually the *nous*, in its primary sense, is occupied in conveying inspiration to the heart. Memory is forever pouring its store into this realm; knowledge of every kind is daily streaming in by the portals of the senses, passing through the strangest transmutations as it is touched by the reason, or the fancy, till it reaches the sanctuary, and mounts into something which takes hold of the entire nature. But *then* the first has become the last, and the last first. That only which reaches, engrosses, and moves the *heart*, is that which works into the essence of the life; and that which remains intellectual alone is only on the way to its practical end, an abortive thing if it gets no further.

The intellect may be the Beautiful Gate, even, literally, Solomon's Porch, but the heart is the vital centre, the Sanctuary of the temple. All the outer courts point toward this, the precinct of the spirit. It is only when the thoughts which throng them like the multitude, it is only when the purposes which minister in them like the priests, have actually lit the altar fire and gone behind the veil, that the Divine uses of the temple are manifested and make their return. And yet it is none the less true that without these courts of approach the altar would never burn, the hidden power within would never be evoked. It is the intellect which awakens that inmost interior. It receives the crowd in its magnificent areas, it reports the situation outside, and then the secret heart, brooded upon by the Spirit of God, takes in the situation; the mystic circuit is complete; upon that heartfelt consciousness the character is formed, and upon that character, the life. It is a Divine dependence ordained in the structure of our nature, and the process of it ought to be vividly before our minds if we would understand the operation of the Metanoia.

We have used this apostolic figure of the "temple of

God," not only to give as graphic illustration as possible to a manifold fact of our nature under any circumstances, but also to consecrate the fact to the sacred relation in which we are discussing it, and bring it, besides, into the very connection in which S. Paul used the metaphor.

It is only when the situation is a Divine one that man is found to be the temple of God. So long as he confronts only the spirit of the world, whether it be in the nature of things or in the nature of men, he is like Herod's temple, without the Shekinah. He is only in partial use; his true occupation is gone, or has not come. But when "the Lord visits His temple," then the wisdom of the world finds no longer entrance, but "the wisdom of God is a mystery." In *that* change of situation comes the wondrous change of mind. "Eye hath not seen," exclaims the Apostle, "nor ear heard, neither have entered the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him"—not in the next world only, but in this. "Now," he continues, "we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might *know* the things that are freely given to us by God." "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? Let no man deceive himself. If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool that he may be wise." Such was to be the utter dispossession of himself, such the utter evacuation of the wisdom of the world, such the Metanoia, when he came to know "Christ, the power of *God*, and the wisdom of *God*." S. Paul, when charged with a message like this, may well have scorned to come with the "excellency of speech or of wisdom" which then captivated the imagination of men, but no man ever lived who, "in demonstration of the Spirit and power," made a greater appeal to the intellect, more riveted the intelligent attention of the world, and elicited the admiration of the finest intellects the world has known. If ever a man was chosen because of his intellectual power, and if ever a man appealed to the understanding and struck home through every faculty and intuition which the understanding could summon, it was he.

If we have made our meaning clear—and much that we have said has an ulterior reference which will make it clearer—the reader is now prepared to take up the historic moment when the Gospel was inaugurated, and to contemplate the stupendous change of outward situation which then ensued. What an epoch it was! What a



meaning lay in the Metanoia that was then proclaimed! "The noetic faculty, or the faculty of shaping and conceiving things under their true relations," entered now upon its work, and the issue was to be a revolution in the whole human conception of life. Christ substituted His own wisdom for the wisdom of the world, and what we see recorded in the New Testament is, first, the natural process of the Metanoia: this wisdom working through the intelligence upon the heart, the conscience and the life; and next, the thoroughness of the result in forming a new spiritual consciousness in that age.

It was, indeed, the "beginning of miracles": the water was turned into wine. What else could have taken place from His presence at the bridal when Heaven and Earth were made one? The change was now inevitable from the lower into the Higher, from the temporal into the Eternal, from the natural into the Spiritual, from the human into the Divine. Life took a new character and another meaning when He drew near. It was found to be His life. The letter of the Old Testament dissolved into the spirit of the New. The law disappeared, and the righteousness which is by faith, red as the blood of a great Sacrifice, was found instead, filling the vessels of human purification to the brim. The good wine had been kept until now!

Did ever the world see so mighty and so radical a revolution as came upon it then? Judaism gave way to a universal religion. The Mosaic night broke into the dawn of the perfect day. The Fatherhood of God was revealed to all men, and a brotherhood with the Son of God! Now were they the sons of God! partakers of the Divine nature! This world was discovered to be within the boundaries of the other world, and death was merged into a resurrection of the dead! Righteousness and truth were to prevail, for the power of sin had been destroyed! And the efficacy of all this lay in the person of the Christ. It was He who gave all this light. The order of human life reversed itself in Him. All conduct was to flow from a spirit within, not by a law without. Selfishness was turned into self-surrender and self-sacrifice. The affections were to be set upon things above, not on things on the earth. The spirit was everything, the flesh profited nothing. In all human action was to be the consciousness of Eternity; in all intercourse of man with man no less than the magnanimity of God

As we said in the beginning, what strikes us first, as we open our New Testament, is the commanding position in which we find the word *Metanoia*. It is the great initiating word of the first three Gospels. However, they may vary in the way they begin the story they unite in the way they introduce this. The summons to mankind, first by the Baptist, next by Christ, is to a *Metanoia* — a change of mind. And when we come to the fourth Gospel, with its interior view of the life of Christ, it is to discover it, also at the very outset, in another form, in an expression which, characteristically of that Gospel, carries us into the very depths of the self-same idea.

Let us combine the four accounts. Now we shall see it in its true perspective ; that is successively in its intellectual, ethical, and spiritual development.

In the very beginning we have the Christ, half-philosophically, half-spiritually depicted as the "*Logos*," the "*Word*"; then, as the "*Light of men*." What greater implication could there be that Christianity was directed through the understanding to the heart? Next, John the Baptist is spoken of as the witness to this Light. He was "to go before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways." The method of his preparation was to produce, first, a powerful, controlling impression upon their intelligence. His personal appearance, his clothing like that of an ancient prophet, his ascetic look, his secluded life, the "*voice*," out of Isaiah, with which he spoke, the burden of his first announcement—all were in keeping, and were calculated to rouse the whole nation. The past came vividly back to their memory ; the future was as vividly, though mysteriously and portentously, brought to their imagination. He came "proclaiming a baptism of *Metanoia*, for the remission of sins." His vocal summons was that of a herald. "*Metanoieite! Take a new mind upon you, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand!*" And, as if his voice were not enough, he spoke also by this symbol whose meaning was universally known to be a change from an old condition into a new, even such a change, as they esteemed it, as that from dark Paganism to glorious Judaism. It now meant a change from dark Judaism to some far exceeding glory. It meant a change that would really, not typically, bring with it a remission of sins. He thus expressively coupled this sign of a change of condition with his summons to a change of mind. It was no other than "a baptism of *Metanoia*."

His summons of the Pharisees and Sadducees to a change of mind was as revolutionary and as radical as it well could be. In this he struck right at their views. "Think not to say within yourselves, 'We have Abraham to our Father,' for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." Even now the axe is lying at the root of the trees. There must be fruit worthy of the Metanoia *της μετανοίας*.

The effect of these utterances upon the people was as distinctly intellectual as it was emotional. Their whole intelligence was roused to such a degree that they not only went down into the baptism and sought practical counsel for their future lives, but they were thrown into a state of "expectation." They were excited to inquiry. "All men mused in their hearts of John, whether *he* were the Christ or not." Priests and Levites came down from Jerusalem to ask him, "Who art thou? that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself?"

Up to this point he had not announced the Christ, but he *had* awakened every thought and association which could suggest Him. He would seem to have gathered this intense concentration of attention upon himself in order to acquire additional power in portraying the greater grandeur of Him who was coming. He made himself the dark background of the picture he now drew. He was but a voice. "One mightier than I cometh." He himself was not worthy to stoop down and unlace His sandals. "I, indeed, baptize you with water, but He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire." He is the real Baptizer; the Metanoia that is to come by Him is to come by the Spirit of God, and by something more purifying than water. With Him *that* Baptism and the Metanoia are one. What I am, what I teach, what I summon you to, what I baptize with are but foreshadows of Him."

Powerful as was this picture, John drew still another. It was based upon a familiar scene in their everyday life. This Coming One was the Great Harvester, whose winnowing fork should stir humanity to its depths, as so much grain on the threshing floor, and throw it against the currents of the Spirit. The wheat would fall at His feet and go into His garner, but the stubble should fly beyond Him to become only fuel for the fire.

He painted these two strong pictures upon their imaginations, pictures whose parabolic force would sink profoundly into their minds. Vague conceptions were they as

yet—as vague as the idea of a Metanoia itself must have been—but there was a far-reaching significance in them which, as now united with the call to a change of mind, time would reveal and the reality would confirm. The seed of much thinking was sown, and a kind of thinking that was sure to work its way into the life.

It was not until after all this—not, indeed, until Jesus had come and been baptized—that John made known the fact that his own baptism had had a still deeper purpose than had yet been suspected. Not only was it a sign of the Metanoia in view of the impending change, not only did it convey a typical intimation of Him who should bring about this change, but it had all along been the designed occasion when the Christ Himself, in bodily presence, should be made known! John had been utterly in the dark as to who He was. He was in even a greater state of expectation than the people. All he knew was that “He that sent him to baptize with water, the same had said to him, upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining upon Him, the same is He who baptizeth with the Holy Spirit.” “I knew Him not,” he said afterward, “but in order that (*ἵνα*) He should be made manifest unto Israel, for this cause came I (*δια τοῦτο ἦλθον ἐγώ*) baptizing with water.”\*

This remarkable statement cannot be too strongly reiterated in view of the significance we may attach to it. The symbol, Baptism, was put into John's hands not only, as we say, to express the impending Metanoia, the change of mind to which the people were summoned, but also to be the means by which the Christ, the consummate agent of it all, should be made known to John himself and to the people. Everything was in suspense until this supreme moment of perception and knowledge came. The Metanoia was not at the full until *He* was “made manifest.” The fact further defines the word. John's mind was waiting to be informed. The mind of Israel was waiting to be informed. Both were yet in the *Pro-noia*. They were in the line of that information, but the knowledge had not come. They stood on the verge of the Metanoia. When it should dawn, it would affect every mind according to its previous condition. The change would be either an evolution or a revolution. But, in either case, it would be a change of mind, an advance into a new stage of conscious-

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\*See the New Version *in loc.*

ness, a confirmation of what had already been dimly discerned, or a contradiction of what had hitherto been wrongly imagined. The one was John's position, ready for any development. The other, in different degrees and forms, was the position of the people.

Let it still be borne in mind that this was known as "a baptism of the Metanoia." Now Jesus Himself was to enter the rite. If it were "the baptism of repentance," as it is rendered, why was He there? What had it to do with Him, or He with it? This has been the puzzle of theologians, who labor under the prepossession of the old rendering. But that He should participate in and be the central glory of a baptism of the Change of Mind, in the large sense in which we understand that expression, would be sublimely consistent with His character as the Christ; and it would, moreover, give us an inner glimpse of His life, which would ally it still more with our own. We have reason to think that Jesus himself was in the background with the others, personally known to John, yet spiritually unknown to him, personally known to many, yet spiritually undiscerned by them, personally known to Himself in the deepest consciousness of what He might be, perceiving in Himself all the marks of the Christ, yet with that consciousness awaiting the seal of the Divine confirmation. Israel, John, Jesus, were all, in these different degrees, in the *Pronoia*—the mind before it had crossed into perfect intelligence. The Baptism of the Metanoia was therefore to be the manifestation of Christ *to Himself* as well as to them. The event declares this to be the very fact. "When all the people had been baptized," then He also entered by the self-same ceremonial gate into the new order of things: the kingdom of Heaven which was at hand. What happened? As he came up out of the water the heavens were rent asunder, "and lo! a voice from Heaven, saying, 'Thou art—this is—My Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased!'" "And I saw," said John, "and bare record that this is the Son of God!"\*

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\* "By this anointing of the Spirit," says Olshausen, "the gradual development of the *human* consciousness in Jesus attained its height."  
 \* \* \* The Baptism, accordingly, was the sublime season when the character of the *Χριστός*, which was dormant in the gradually developing child and youth, now came forth and expanded itself. Compare the remarkable words in Justin, Dial. Tryph. Cum. Jud., p. 226: 'Though the Messiah has been born and lives, he is unknown, and does not even know himself, nor has any power, until Elias shall come and anoint him and make him known to all.'"—Olshausen's Com., N. T., vol. I., p. 271.

What a Metanoia was there, to both Jesus and John ! The Pronoia was over with both ! The boundary had been crossed ; the veil had been lifted. The whole great advance had been made in a moment of time. Jesus, filled with the immensity of a now confirmed consciousness, "filled with the Spirit," went into the wilderness to breast the trial which should come to Him as the announced Son of God. John, emerged from the wilderness, into the full light of the same Metanoia, into the blaze of the very consummation amid which he was to wane out of sight, to await the return of Jesus, and to say, "Behold the Lamb of God ! This is He of whom I spake !"

And what a Metanoia had come also upon the disciples of John and upon Israel ! With Jesus and with John the Change of Mind, as we say, was in the form of development, an evolution from one state of consciousness into another. But upon Israel it had come like a change from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge, a revolution of consciousness, an inversion, as time went on, of all that they had ever thought, or believed, or felt.\*

But let us return to the great final scene at the Baptism, which shed its splendor over the rite. The virtue never left it which entered it then. Henceforth it was consecrated into a sacrament, forever allied with a change of mind and of life. Baptism, as it once defined the Metanoia, was always to define it. For go now from the first three Gospels into the fourth. What do we find there,—also in the outset of the record ? We hear our Lord discoursing of a New Birth—a birth from above, a birth by the Spirit, and this as accompanying a birth by water ! Even as it had been with the Master so was it to be with the disciple. The full revelation of a sonship in God, was to break upon *him*, also, after he had ascended through the outward rite ! Then the Spirit would meet the mind openly, and renew it day by day. It also was to change as it learned, as it was tempted, and as it suffered. Where is the harmony of the gospels, where is the harmony of the Gospel itself, unless the "Baptism of Metanoia" proclaimed by John the Baptist to the people, was the same as the "Born of water

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\* Was there no meaning in the event, when after three years of this transfiguring experience, suddenly "the fashion of his countenance was altered, and His face did shine as the sun," to a group of His disciples on the mount, and the divine words, uttered at His baptism, were uttered again ? Was there no meaning in it when the whole truth and reality of that vision of *change* burst upon all of them in His resurrection from the dead ?

and of the Spirit" announced by Jesus to Nicodemus? So here, in the profoundest of the Gospels, we have the profoundest exposition of the word.

We are now fairly brought to the moment when Jesus began to proclaim and to say, "The time is fulfilled and the Kingdom of God is at hand, Metanoëite! Take upon you a New Mind, and believe the Glad Tidings!"

What a new and concentrated light falls upon the life of Christ if we look upon it as the process or action of creating the Metanoia! With this single idea in view His whole method comes definitely before us. It was all comprised in the terms of the above announcement: "The Divine epoch of the world has come! God is now to reign on earth! Heaven is all about you! Sin, sorrow, death, are no more! Peace, joy, everlasting life are yours! The night is far spent: the Day is at hand. Awake! Awake! All is changed! Change *ye*! Believe not the world: believe *Me*! I bring you good tidings of great joy!"

Supernatural as this revelation was, it was, like Him who brought it, subject to the order of nature in human nature, when delivered to mankind. That order, as we have said, is this: all inward change proceeds from outward change. A change of outward situation induces a change of mental consciousness; a change of mental consciousness induces a change of moral disposition; a change of moral disposition induces a change of outward life. Give a man a new consciousness and he will develop a new nature. Upon this natural order of the Metanoia did Christ proceed. He first revealed a change of circumstance: He filled the soul with knowledge altogether new. He communicated to it ideas and inspired it with principles which brought about it the horizon of another world. Then, step by step, came the dispossession of the old nature till it had reached the vital centre, the seat of the conscience and the will, and then, step by step, the moral transformation began. It was "the expulsive power of a new affection." The "world" was cast out like a deaf and blind spirit, and the once Divine heart was left cleansed and free. And this was done, as we say, by occupying, first, the intellectual nature of man, by engaging the whole power of his understanding *with the truth*. But the nature of that truth was such that it struck through to the heart. Like the hymn we hear, the intellectual process, however full, was unnoticed in the greater fulness of the spiritual impression pro-

duced. It came from Him on fire with the vividness of His own consciousness, and its illumination, as well as its inspiration, was thrown through these out-looking windows into the inmost chambers of the spirit. But these intellectual windows were the first to blaze under the light that poured into them. His opening summons to the Metanoia was addressed to the intelligence, and, without an awakened intelligence, it could not have moved the people as it did. All His subsequent preaching then became an education, an education by gradual revelation. He was known as the "Teacher." He called His followers His "disciples." "Every one," He said, "that hath learned of my Father cometh unto Me." "Hearken to Me every one of you and understand!" "Perceive ye not and understand?" "All things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you." His constant formula was: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!" which applied as much to the interest felt by the intelligence as to the disposition which lay in the will.

His mode of teaching involved almost every form of arresting attention and producing an impression. He portrayed the kingdom of Heaven in parables of the most diverse description; some so plain as to clear up a whole situation; some so obscure as to hold in reserve a lesson, of which time would develop the meaning; some with intimations so vast, so stupendous that the heaven and the earth seemed passing away. He spoke, sometimes, in startling enigmas which roused thought, conjecture, speculation, inquiry; sometimes in language as startling for its hyperbole, in order to vivify to the utmost an essential truth; sometimes, again, in precepts so plain that the very children could understand them. Sometimes He spoke in statements which, like those to the woman of Samaria, widened as into infinitude the local horizon about Mount Gerizim or Jerusalem; which like those in the Sermon on the Mount, revealed the Divine profundities under the law and under all human life. He employed reasoning and argument. He appealed to the imagination, He struck indelible pictures upon the memory. He was ever speaking of the "Truth." Even at the last, He declared to Pilate that "to this end was He born, and for this cause came He into the world, that he should bear witness unto the Truth." His whole endeavor seemed to be to develop the capacity for Belief, and, when it was developed, it took the mental-ethical-spiritual name of



"Faith,"—another Greek word elevated into a transcendental meaning. He used every credential which He brought with Him to fasten His personality upon the age, and to make Himself a vivid and memorable as well as a lovable presence forever. Every sign and wonder was worked as much to prove His origin and authority as to express His loving kindness and tender mercy. He was the sower who went out to sow. He left in that soil principles working, ideas germinating, thoughts springing, as well as feelings moved and affections stirred, the issues of which that soil very imperfectly comprehended until the ripening moment had come. He threw a mystical shadow over life which was to deepen into an eclipse of all that was earthly. He set forward its boundaries into the other world, and brought in the spirit of the heavenly life, the spirit of eternity amid things temporal. He revealed the existence of the absolute Right, the near presence of the love and of the will of God.

With His disciples it was a constant, a growing Metanoia. At first, they were full of joy, of anticipation, of triumph. They were not to fast: the bridegroom was with them. The sombre word "repentance" were sadly inadequate to express all that He had created. Doubtless, here and there, some, like Peter, astonished by this exhibition of power, fell down at His knees, saying: "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord!"; or some, like Zacchæus, also powerfully impressed, offered the fullest reparation for an evil life; or some, like the woman that was a sinner, loved much because they had been forgiven much. Such results were the inevitable, as they were the designed consequence of His personal influence, and, sooner or later, they were to come upon all. But the influence *began* in the intellect awakened, the intellect overwhelmed with a new perception, with a new conviction, with a belief in His authority, and a belief in what He revealed.

And, as if to indicate to His disciples that the Metanoia was even then by no means complete, He told them at the close that "He had yet many things to say unto them, but that they could not bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of Truth, should come, He would guide them into all Truth." "He should bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever He Himself had said unto them."

And, indeed, the Metanoia had not fully come. So little had they comprehended, so much in them still lay latent,

that his death was a catastrophe which ended all their hope. Their Metanoia entered upon a new stage when He rose from the dead. Their "sorrow was turned into joy," as He had predicted. But, even then, the consummate hour had not come; and, even then, they could not have fully taken in His last injunction "that Metanoia and remission of sins should be preached in His Name," that they should "go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."

The Metanoia was not complete until the hour when the prophecy of John the Baptist was literally fulfilled, until the Christ, Himself, was, so to speak, complete; until He came again "Baptizing them with the Holy Spirit and with fire"; until, as the Great Harvester, He thrust His winnowing fork into the harvest He had planted, and cast it against the wind of that Spirit to thoroughly purge His floor.

Then, in the outburst of that mighty wind, came the Metanoia complete, upon the disciples, upon the age. The whole original impression of Him revived, and a deeper than that impression was inspired. The world went into shadow. The Kingdom of Heaven was on Earth. They had "the Mind of Christ."

But what was its first manifestation? A public phenomenon on the Day of Pentecost. There was a vocal outburst of Divine ecstasy. Whether they spoke in languages, or in mystical utterances, it was the release of their pent-up souls when the full realization came upon them. The multitude cried in wonder, as they saw and heard, "What meaneth this?" or in mockery, "These men are full of new wine!" Their amazement and scepticism were equally met by an illuminating speech from Peter: a statement of facts, an argument from prophecy, irresistibly concentrated upon the event which had shaken Jerusalem fifty days before; a speech which leaped from the supreme Metanoia of the moment and carried all its impalpable power into the minds before him. The same light then broke upon them. "Men! brethren!" they exclaimed, "What shall we do?" the very words of the multitudes to John the Baptist when all this was foreshadowed; and then they heard again the burden of the Baptist and of the Christ: "*Metanopete*! Take a New Mind! and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ!". The same thing occurred when, shortly afterward, a miracle was performed.

There was another convincing statement with the same exhortation. Observe the antithesis. "I wot that through ignorance, (*ἀγνοῖαν*,) ye did it. . . . *Μετανοήσατε!* Take a New Mind, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, so that, (*οὕτως*,) times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord." How little the "Repent" of our version takes in the compass of the counsel! They had "repented" already, in the usual sense, they were deeply penitent, they were "pricked to the heart." But Peter made them understand that compunction or any other like feeling was not all. Their minds must seize the new situation, so that God might send Him who was before proclaimed to them, Jesus Christ. (Gr.) They were to turn from ignorance to knowledge.

And now, one other stage, which will carry us even deeper into the Scriptural aspect of this subject.

If ever there was an instance of *Metanoia* under all the conditions which could exhibit the fullest import of the word, it was that of the conversion of S. Paul. It would almost seem as if the change of mind in a man of such personal greatness, moral strength, and conspicuous record, had been brought about in the sudden, public way it was in order to put into a concentrated form, and reveal on the grandest scale, a process and a fact which in ordinary cases could not be so visibly represented. We have here in colossal proportions, and, potentially, in a moment of time the *Metanoia* of which all Christian experience is made. That such a thing could and did take place in the case of a man of this intelligence has been cited as one of the strongest evidences of the Christian Religion. What he was before the change we know. First of all, one of the most richly endowed intellects and one of the most powerful natures ever known among men. Following upon that, intensified by his proud Judaism, by his narrow Pharisaism, by his profound knowledge of Jewish law and traditions, by his devotion to the religion of his fathers, he turned out a zealot in the cause of Judaism, so dark, bigoted, and bloody, as to make him a leader in the persecution of the new faith. He had proven impenetrable to the story and teaching of Jesus, to the accounts of His miracles, even to the signs and wonders wrought in His name by the Apostles. But in the very hour when his mind was most turbulent, vengeful, and determined, Jesus meets him in the way. As soon as the conviction of his error had

broken upon his mind, as visibly as the great light which had blinded his eyes, his first inquiry was, like all previous disciples, "What must I do?" "I have appeared unto thee for this purpose," answered Jesus, "to make thee a minister and a witness both of those things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee, delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to *open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light.*" "Whereupon," as he says, "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision" but showed unto them "that they should take upon them a new mind, (*μετανοεῖν*), and turn to God, and do works worthy of the Metanoia," (*ἀφ' ἧς τῆς μεταβολῆς*.)

When the scales had fallen from his eyes, his mind beheld no other vision than of Christ. He that had then met him was thenceforth ever before him. The narrow, prejudiced, sectarian Pharisee was changed into an Apostle of Christianity, so magnificent, so enlightened, so liberal in his conception of it that none of his new brethren could keep pace with him, as even all present ecclesiasticism is in danger of falling behind him.

All the marks of the Metanoia are here. It was the mind changed through circumstance: for when he beheld the supernatural presence of the Lord, the whole vision of his error burst upon him. It was the mind changed in understanding: for he spent three years of solitude in Arabia, receiving the fullest indoctrination from Christ. It was the mind changed by evolution: for, with the root of the matter in him, he now grasped entirely the transcendent change of situation, and came forth able, above all others, to reconcile the old economy with the new, to proclaim the advanced principles of the Gospel with a profundity of spiritual discernment which no one should ever exceed, and to be the most powerful advocate Christianity should ever know. It was the mind changed in disposition: for, from the fierce, proud, intolerant, self-sufficient son of the law, he became the patient, humble, compassionate, affectionate servant of Christ, "all things to all men." It was the mind changed by development: for the same capacity for faith, for zeal, for force and energy, for religious devotion, was now carried over and enlarged in the interest of a cause as new and as vast as the whole just revealed purpose of God in man. It was the mind changed by revolution: for it was a revolt from Judaism in its narrow Rabbinical form, a total break with the artificial, superstitious, selfish system

under which he had been born and bred, and a leap into the large spiritual consciousness of Christ Himself. It was the mind changed before repentance set in, which repentance accompanied, which repentance intensified, which repentance filled with a due apprehension of the Cross, but of the extent of whose growth in its change, of the extent of whose apprehension of his Lord, the word "repentance" in its fullest theological acceptance, could never follow, compass, or describe. Nothing less than the word *Metanoia* can compass or describe it. For what was its most conspicuous, foremost feature? A profoundly illuminated intelligence followed by a nature as profoundly penetrated. The "spiritual man" was there; the "natural man" was there no longer.

In the light of this word even the most unspiritual mind cannot fail in some degree of sympathy with S. Paul's enthusiasm in his work, or to understand the ecstasy with which he regarded the person of his Lord, or to know what he meant when he said that his "conversation," his daily life, was lived in heaven. The spiritual, so far as this, takes the look of the natural.

When we open his Epistles, and read them from this point of view, with this word as their key, they all,—no matter what their occasion or what themes they passingly treat—take the character of the summons to the *Metanoia*. Back to this, in some form, they always come. He rings, as we said, endless changes upon the word. It appears in innumerable forms of expression. It would be one prolonged and many-sided illustration of the idea, if we were to quote from him as profusely as we would like. But our space will only permit a selection of a few passages where the most direct reference is made, and where the "noetic faculty" is also implied.

He said to the Romans: "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed, (*μεταμορφοῦσθε* transfigured) by the renewing of your mind (*νοῦς*)." He said to the Corinthians: "We have the mind (*νοῦς*) of Christ. . . . We all . . . are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. . . . If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature, old things are passed away, behold all things are become new." He said to the Ephesians, "That God . . . may give unto you the spirit of wisdom (*σοφίας*) and revelation in the knowledge (*ἐπεγνώσεν*) of Him (Christ), the eyes of your understanding (*διανοίας*) being enlightened; that ye may know

etc." . . . "Henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind, (νοῦς) having the understanding (τῇ διαvoia) darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance (ἀγνοῖαν) that is in them. . . . But ye have not so learned Christ, if so be that ye have heard Him, and been taught by Him, as the truth is in Jesus, that ye put off concerning the former conversation, the old man . . . and be renewed in the spirit of your mind (νοῦς); and that ye put on the new man." He said to the Colossians: "Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of Him that created Him." He said to Timothy: "The servant of the Lord . . . must be apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those who oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them Metanoia unto the acknowledging (εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν) of the truth."

But we must now pass on to an occasion in which he used the word itself, and by force of circumstances, less in a spiritual than in an intellectual and popular sense.

When he confronted the Stoics and Epicureans in the Areopagus, roused to indignation by the evidences of image worship around him, and to quick perception of the opportunity offered him by an Altar to the Unknown God—to him so near in association with the Unnamed God of his own people. but to them, only, at the most, a philosophical dream—when, in coming before such an audience, he had to burn his Hebrew ships, for he could beat no retreat upon the traditions of his own religion, quote no Scriptures but those of their own poets, and reason with them only upon their own premises; when, if he spoke at all, he must speak to the intellect, and to an intellect which would care very little for an appeal to the heart and not even understand an allusion to "sin;" when all his tact and ingenuity were exerted to get uninterrupted to the "new thing" they desired to hear and he wished to announce; when he had stated the nature of the one living and true God in a way to command their respect, and in a way to enlarge their conception of Him who should remain no longer "Unknown," if he could reveal Him to their understanding—what did he say? "The times of ignorance God overlooked; but now he commandeth men that they shall all everywhere change their mind."

"μετανοεῖν." \*

\*See Revised Version *in sec.*

Without question, S. Paul spoke as near as he could to the sense of classic Greek under such Attic circumstances, and we are not justified in here interpreting the word in any other way. He could not have expected them to put the full construction upon it which lay in his own mind, and with which it must have vaguely rung in their ears as it came forth with the tone of his own intense consciousness. All that they could have understood was an appeal "to change their views," to come to a conception of the Divine nature more worthy of those who were "the offspring of God," to accept this great knowledge, which he now communicated, in place of the "ignorance" which their altar confessed. The very most that their usage could admit into the word he had employed was an ethical import, sometimes, though rarely attached to it, but it must have been in this instance very dimly discerned, if at all. If there was anything like "regret" to be felt, it was, most probably, only displeasure with themselves that they should have been so mistaken. Certainly nothing so strong as penitence could have been dreamed of by S. Paul. He was intent upon something beyond, to which the intellectual impression or emotion he had created would be a stepping-stone, namely, "Christ." For this, and up to this, he would "change their mind." How utterly inconceivable, at any rate, is a call to "repentance," as it is translated in our version, both the Old and the New, in the connection of such an attempt to commend the religion he preached to the confidence and respect of these speculative men!

We must leave to the reader the further examination of passages in the New Testament where *Metanoia* in some form appears, and is still rendered "repentance" in the New Version. Here they all are in a foot note, and he can judge for himself whether, in every case, (and in some cases most expressly) a more distinct reference to the *changed mind* in the profound sense we have given it, would not be an improvement upon the more emotional and less fruitful idea suggested by the word "repentance." It will be found used in many of these instances, not in a general but special application, when its great meaning is curdled, as it were, into the expression of a single feeling in relation to sin; when thought, perception, knowledge, conscience, penitence, and the will are combined into such a strong revolt of the entire man from an evil course, as to change the character of his life. Any rendering which

keeps any of these powerful and necessary elements out of sight is more than an unfortunat one.\*

In all that we have now said we have shown ourselves anxious that, in the translated New Testament, the Summons in the original proclamation of the Gospel should be made to appear as profound and significant as it really was, and thus be made to unite itself with the intellectual and spiritual life of the nineteenth century as keenly as it did with the first. We would have it a fresh, living, all-comprehensive, all-powerful Summons now.

We desire this, first, in order that the unity of the New Testament may be seen to lie in it from the beginning as in a germ, and to branch and flower from it in every part as from a stem. We desire this, next, for the more important and vital reason, that the ethical and practical character of the religion of Christ may be revealed in its real supremacy to the emotional theory which has so long disproportionately prevailed. But, above all, we desire it—above all, from its including these and comprehending more—because it implies the use of the entire nature of man, intellectual, moral, affectional, spiritual, his human part and his Divine part, in the act of apprehending and appropriating the truth of God. The whole *Nous* is appealed to, the whole mind is engaged in seeing Him who is invisible, and in doing His will. For it is now the unhappy fact that the Christian religion is so specifically applied to one portion of this mind and to one state of it, that if the requisition were strictly insisted upon as a standard and test, many persons of the purest character and highest principle would be denied the name of Christian, though palpably actuated by the faith and spirit of Christ. The penitential condition is not all—however much it may be. The recognition of Christ may spring from a wider surface, and even a deeper principle than that one agonized nerve in the retina of the soul.

“Metanoete!” It is a generous word, looking outwardly from the life that now is to that which is to come.

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\* *Metanoteu* occurs: Matt. iii: 1; iv: 17; xi: 20, 21; xii: 41. Luke, i: 15; vi: 12. Luke x: 13; xi: 32; xiii: 3, 5; xv: 7, 10; xvi: 30; xvii: 3, 4. Acts ii: 38; iii: 19; viii: 22; xvii: 30; xxvi: 20. 2 Cor. xii: 21. Rev. ii: 5 (twice); xvi: 21 (twice), 22; iii: 3, 19; ix: 20, 21; xvi: 9, 11.

*Metanoia* occurs: Matt. iii: 8. Luke iii: 8. Matt. iii: 11; ix: 13. Luke ii: 17. Luke v: 32. Luke i: 4. Luke iii: 3. Acts xiii: 24. Acts xix: 4. Luke xv: 7. xxiv: 47. Acts v: 31; xi: 18; xx: 21; xxvi: 20. Rom. ii: 4. 2 Cor. vii: 9, 10. 2 Tim. ii: 25. Heb. vi: 1, 6; xii: 17. 2 Pet. iii: 9.



Let us have its equivalent in Gospel and Epistle wherever it appears. Let it speak to *this* age at least, in full not muffled, articulation—to this age with its wide speculation upon the mystery of being, with its agnostic revolt from the religion that is preached, with its critical study of the historic Christ, and yet latent disposition to believe in Him.

"Metanoeite!" It is time that the Herald uttered it again as He uttered it once. It bears to us the all-necessary message of contradiction, and the all-necessary announcement of a revolution. It brings with it the true and everlasting tidings—always *news* to blind and mortal men—that the apparent conditions of this life are the illusion of flesh and sense, and that the real conditions of life are the very reverse of what we are prone to think and believe. The eternal and the spiritual are all, the temporal and the material are but the shadows of that substance.

It were a bold word from any but a Divine mouth—we should say—and yet the human tongue has been uttering it, virtually, all along in another sphere. What has been the proclamation of Science in its own material world, but "Metanoeite! change your mind from the near testimony of Sense to the distant witness of Discovery." Sense says: The sun rises in the east and revolves about the earth; the earth is the centre of the celestial sphere. But Science—Knowledge—proclaims a contradiction, and, with it, a revolution: It is the earth that goes round the sun, the sun is but one of that starry host, the blue firmament melts into illimitable space; it is an illuminated universe which lies out there, in which this apparently ponderous globe floats like an atom in a sunbeam. So Science, an echo of the Divine voice, has enlarged, reversed the whole consciousness of man. Her Metanoia has been proclaimed, not only here, but everywhere in her material field. Whithersoever she has gone, nature has inverted its apparent order, its phenomena have widened out into once occult principles, and the first human impression of them has had to be revoked.

It is an image, a parallel, of the Christian faith. The whole universe of the Spiritual is likewise being revealed to the knowledge of mankind. Time is declared to be of Eternal moment, and death the fullness of life. We may discern the character of that other sphere by its inverse relation, point for point, to this.

Given, then, we say, the intellectual realization of this

to men, their moral consciousness will rise to it, their nature will enlarge with it, their hearts and their lives will deepen to the measure of it. They will revolt more and more, not from God, but from sin and from the world. This is *conversion*, this is the new birth from above.

We can now imagine how, under such a conception, the pulpit would awake to the grandeur of its work, how the Church would awake to the grandeur of her cause. The themes of the one, the methods of the other would move with splendor and with power to one definite and mighty end: the Summoning of mankind to the Metanoia, this new mind, and the announcement of *everything* on the Divine side of life, which would inspire and create it. For we are just on the verge of a great epoch. All this intellectual activity in the material world is surely working toward a moment of reaction when the same intensity of movement will turn the other way, and the universal demand will be for a knowledge of the spiritual. The voice of Science, crying in its wilderness, will be found to have been preparing the way to this. It will turn out to be the "expectation" of this age. Out of its dust and ashes shall mount again the cry: "Metanoicite! for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" Let us see to it that neither the Bible, the Church, nor the pulpit, gives *then* an uncertain sound.

But our space is exhausted: yet one word more to carry our theme to its most practical and highest point. We have said all when we say that Metanoia and Revelation are correlative terms, one always implying the other. As large, therefore, as we understand the Revelation to be, we must understand the Metanoia to be. They are reciprocal, as they develope, in character and degree. In their meeting and blending within us, then, we become partakers of the Divine nature and are saved. What begins with being a "change of mind towards God" deepens and broadens, as our nature turns all its disk that way, into that supreme reflection of God in the soul, "*faith* in our Lord Jesus Christ." Faith is the Metanoia touched to the quick. Faith is the Metanoia when it has reached the vital fibres of our being: "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen": "God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, shining into our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." So it is the Metanoia which is bearing us Heavenward in Him. "We are changed

into the same image from glory to glory": "We were sometime darkness, but now are we light in the Lord." "We press toward the mark for the prize of the High Calling of God in Christ Jesus." More and more is the earthly nature dissolving away and releasing the heavenly one; deeper and deeper is the transfiguration working within; and it will not cease even when we have passed the gates of death, and

"Heaven opens on our eyes; our ears  
With sounds seraphic ring!"

What will be the inburst of another world upon the soul  
but the Change of Changes, the supreme Metanoia of the  
Eternal life!

TREADWELL WALDEN.

## MAN AND NATURE.

I SHOULD think there are times when even the most enthusiastic churchman becomes a little weary of those very minute questions upon which so much time and thought have been of late expended. No doubt every question, the object of which is to arrive at a truth, or a rule of life, may be regarded theoretically as of infinite, and therefore, all of them as of equal, importance. They are, however, of infinite importance only to the man who sees all their bearings, and not one man in a million does see this. And so it comes to pass that there are many enquiries, which as compared with others, may be almost set aside as infinitesimal. It may be important to find out how to dress a priest, but it is surely much more necessary to be satisfied that there is such a thing as a priest to dress. It is an obvious duty to ascertain what are the most suitable and expressive modes of worshipping God; but it is surely a far more obvious duty to be satisfied that there is a God to worship. And again, inasmuch as the worship of God implies a worshipper, it is perhaps the most pressing of all inquiries, is there after all *in rerum natura* such a thing as a man? Such a question would a very short time ago have been considered idle and absurd. Who denies or doubts, it might have been asked, that

such a being as man exists? Who, it may be asked, doubts or denies it now? Unquestionably if we are content to be the slaves of mere words, we must admit that the belief in the existence of man, is as strong to-day as it ever was. But nothing is more certain than that the meaning of a word depends chiefly, if not exclusively, upon the thought of the man who uses it. Mumbo-Jumbo, Jupiter, and Jehovah are all "Gods"; but it is obvious enough that there is scarcely a single attribute in which they resemble one another. Similarly the name *man* may survive long after its original connotation has perished. In almost every system of philosophy, *man* means a spirit partaking of flesh and blood; a mysterious self, independent of, but intimately associated with, a bodily organism; by virtue of which he is, on that side of his nature, the highest of the animals. These two parts of which a man was supposed to consist, though intimately connected, were believed to have not one single property in common. Thus the body is divisible into parts; it has impenetrability, form, weight, color, and a definite situation in space. But the spirit of a man cannot be divided into parts; it has none either of the primary or secondary qualities of matter; it is neither hard nor soft; it has no shape or color; it cannot be weighed or measured, and though it manifests its presence and its energy by means of a bodily organism, nobody can say precisely where it is. On the other hand, a body has neither thought nor emotion; no logical faculty; no reverence or wonder; no capacity for religion or science. I might express this difference between the body and spirit of a man, in the terms in which Mr. Bain—who assuredly will not be suspected of any prejudices in favor of theological orthodoxy—expresses the difference between mind and matter generally: "What a piece of matter is, what an operation of mind is, we know equally well; we see that they both agree and differ from other kinds of matter, and from other operations of mind. There is a much closer kindred between material facts among themselves, and between mental facts among themselves, than between material facts generally and mental facts generally. Hence, we resolve all the facts of nature ultimately into two kinds—matter and mind; and we do not resolve these into anything higher. We come upon a wider contrast at this point than we had in any prior stage of our generalizing movement. The Plants and the Animals differ widely in their details; both differ still more

widely from Inanimate Matter. Yet they agree in all the principal features of material bodies; and are in total opposition to mind, which has neither the distinctive features of either, nor the common attributes of both. The inanimate and the animate are not so different as body and mind. Extension is but the first of a long series of properties all present in matter, all absent in mind. *Inertia* cannot belong to a pleasure, a pain, an idea, as experienced in the consciousness; it can belong only to the physical accompaniments of mind—the overt acts of volition, and the manifestations of feeling. *Inertia* is accompanied with *Gravity*, a peculiarly material property. So *Color* is a truly material property, it cannot attach to a feeling, properly so called, a pleasure or a pain. These three properties are the basis of matter; to them are superadded, *Form*, *Motion*, *Position*, and a host of other properties expressed in terms of these—Attractions and Repulsions, Hardness, Elasticity, Cohesion, Crystallization, Heat, Light, Electricity, Chemical properties, Organized properties (in special kinds of matter.)” (*Mind and Body*, pp. 124-125.). If then what we mean by saying that one thing is not another thing is precisely this—that the properties of the one are not the same as the properties of the other, there are really no two “things” in nature so emphatically and unapproachably distinct from each other as mind and matter—as the Mind of Man and the Matter of which his Body is built up.

But it may be supposed that though these two be so unmistakably distinct in their usual form, they may nevertheless be both of them manifestations or modes of some common substance. But if there be any such substance it must clearly be outside what we call nature or the universe. For all existing things in nature are included in these two classes, mind and matter. Everything we know, or can even conceive, is either the one or the other. Even if we were to suppose that both the human mind and matter are modes or manifestations of God, as some have held, we should scarcely escape the difficulty; for God is Himself Spirit or mind, and what we are in search of is a Something which shall be neither mind nor matter but the common foundation, source, substance of both of them.

Much less can mind be a mode of matter, as heat, for instance, is proved to be a mode of motion. For with equal propriety might motion be called a mode of heat, or matter a mode of mind. Heat and motion, indeed, however closely

related are still, and will ever remain, perfectly distinct. The motion of a rope slowly passing over or through the hands, and the *heat* which we feel so painfully when it is drawn through them with very great rapidity are as different from each other, as a flintstone from an animal; and no conjuring with words can ever make them alike. Indeed, heat is properly the name of a sensation; and belongs, properly speaking, not to the moving masses or molecules, but to some *sensitive* substance. But at any rate, as fast as motion passes into heat, it ceases as motion. You cannot have *both* the motion *and* the heat. "Thus," to borrow an illustration from Professor Tyndall (*Heat as a Mode of Motion*, pp. 21-22.) "every one of those railway porters whom you see moving about with his can of yellow grease, and opening the little boxes which surround the carriage axles, is without knowing it, illustrating a principle which forms the very solder of nature . . . . He is practically asserting that mechanical energy may be converted into heat, and that, when so converted, it cannot still exist as mechanical energy; but that, for every degree of heat developed, a strict and proportional equivalent of the *locomotive force* of the engine disappears. A station is approached, say at the rate of thirty or forty miles an hour; the brake is applied, and smoke and sparks issue from the wheel on which it presses. The train is brought to rest. How? Simply by converting the entire moving force which it possessed, at the moment the brake was applied, into heat." But matter and mind are equally persistent. Thought does not destroy matter, nor does matter destroy mind. For though intense thought is, undoubtedly, accompanied by a considerable waste of brain, yet this very waste is only change. The whole matter of the brain or nerve substance still remains though in an altered form. In other words, the waste of brain is physiological waste, not real waste. A brain is physiologically wasted when a part of it ceases to be *brain*; it would be really wasted if it were to cease to be *matter*. And it is this last kind of waste which would be necessary if brain-matter were to be converted into thought. There would no longer exist certain elements retaining their original chemical affinities and, above all, their weight. Instead of these, we should have something imponderable, possessing no chemical properties or affinities whatever. But we know perfectly well that this never happens. All the products of the waste of brain can be collected and identified, ana-

lyzed and weighed. You have produced, say a million new thoughts, but you have not diminished by a single atom the matter which you employed as the instrument in producing those thoughts. For producing thought out of brain is exactly like making a table out of a certain quantity of wood, and finding that you had every ounce of the wood left, though in the form, perhaps, of chips, *and a table as well*. Moreover, the wear and tear of brain during the process of intense thinking may be due to physical rather than mental strain—the *physical* effort of attention, for instance—the strain necessary to keep the body in such a condition that its energies may not be dissipated in such a manner as to render it unavailable for the purposes for which, at the time of intense thought, the mind requires its assistance. Thus, during the process of thinking, the body, by a very difficult though unnoticed effort, is kept almost perfectly still; there is generally an intense gaze as if looking eagerly for some invisible object. There may be much consulting of books, over which the eye may run with immense rapidity, and numberless other efforts of a like kind. Thus the molecules of the brain have by changing their places or by some other change, changed also the places of the molecules of the muscles or other tissues, or produced some other change in them. Waste occurs in both, but there is no new entity created. So much brain ceases to be brain, so much muscle ceases to be muscle, and that which has thus changed its position and its function can be collected, analyzed and weighed, and will be found to consist of exactly the same elements and to have exactly the same weight as it had before. Nothing whatever has been either created or annihilated. The mind has used the body just as a man might use materials for building a house. He cuts them up into pieces of a suitable size and form, carries them to another place, and there rearranges them to suit his convenience. But he has neither made nor destroyed a single atom of them. It may be very difficult to determine what is the precise relation of mind to body; but if they be at bottom identical, the very enquiry is absurd. Nothing can be related to itself.

Indeed, if we are to try the experiment at all of uniting these two widely different things into one, regarding one of them as a mere function or mode of the other, it would surely be more philosophical, because it would be immeasurably easier, to begin at the other side, and resolve matter into a function or mode of mind. The relation between the



mind and the external world is excessively obscure; in fact, it is the ultimate problem of philosophy. Our perception of the external world has been explained in the most various ways. It has been explained by a *Deus ex machina*, God by a perpetual miracle, Himself directly producing in the mind a change or mode of consciousness exactly corresponding to each change in the external world. Again, the relation between our perceptions and their external objects has been explained by the analogy of two clocks, so constructed as to keep exactly the same time though wholly independent of each other. Again, the belief in an external world has been regarded as a divine revelation—or as an innate idea—or as a conviction of common sense. Or again, it has been accepted as a probable hypothesis to account for those sensations, which always occur in *definite groups*.

This last explanation denies the existence of any innate or original idea or belief of the external world; or, at least, which is almost exactly the same thing, it dispenses with the necessity for it. Let us grant then that this idea or belief is acquired, though we cannot remember a time when we were without it. Nevertheless there must, on this hypothesis, have been a time when we *first* made our acquaintance with what we believed to be external to ourselves. Indeed, it must be remembered that every form of consciousness is dual; it consists of two elements, self and not-self. There *must* be something to be conscious of. Consciousness implies a change from some previous state; and, even in adult life, it is perfectly possible and even easy to lose all consciousness of objects with which we are in close contact, and of which we were at first vividly conscious. If we lay our hand on some soft, warm body and allow it to rest there, we shall cease to realize its presence; and we can only reproduce the feeling which it at first produced, by some *movement*—that is some change, either in our hand or in the soft body on which it rests. By far the largest number of our sensations, however, come to us not singly, but in well-defined groups. On some occasion, for example, we saw—or at least, something happened which we, at the time or afterwards, were compelled by the whole structure of our being to explain by the hypothesis of a permanent mind or Ego—we observed a piece of white paper lying on a table; noticed its form, colour, position, smoothness, hardness, weight; we experienced, in fact, a definite group or set of sensations. We had never seen a piece of white paper before; and, inasmuch as the

single group of sensations, not associated as yet by contiguity or resemblance with any other group, would awaken neither memory nor anticipation, we should have no reason for expecting to see a piece of white paper again. But supposing, by sheer accident, we were to pass fifty or sixty times near the same table, observe the same piece of white paper, and experience thereupon the same definite group or set of sensations, how should we explain this recurrence of feelings? Would the piece of white paper be, in the least degree, more real after we had seen it fifty times, than it was when we saw it for the first time? If the belief in an external world were intuitive we should have referred our sensations at first to the piece of white paper as an external object; perhaps, in fact, we did. But if the belief be acquired we must have arrived at the same result by a slower process. We perceived that though we might move away from the piece of white paper, yet if we chose to be near it, we were no longer masters of our own sensations. We found out that we were unable steadily to look at a thin, light, square piece of white paper, and then experience the sensations of heaviness, and roundness, and thickness, and blueness. We came to feel:—This piece of paper is as real as I am, and is external to myself; I do not take it away with me; it is not a group of sensations which I can produce at will, whether the paper be present or absent; moreover, when it is present, it can compel me to experience a certain *group* of sensations, however much I may try not to experience them together. It is, therefore, not myself; it is not merely a group of my sensations, but a real external object, which is a cause of my sensations. Thus, by one or other of two different roads, by intuition and original knowledge, or by irresistible inference, we arrive at the same result: an invincible belief in the Non-Ego. On the second supposition, we really *know* nothing but our own sensations; everything else is mere hypothesis. Hence J. S. Mill resolves *matter* into "permanent possibilities of sensations." We suppose it external, and what we call real, simply to account for the *permanence* of the grouping of the sensations. If this were the only possible mode of accounting for these permanent groups the reality of the external world would be proved. But it is not the only possible mode. For exactly the same state of consciousness might be produced in us *directly* by God, without the use of any instrument whatever. And, moreover, if permanent groups of sensations need accounting

for by real external objects, much more do *both* the groups of sensations *and* the external objects *taken together* need accounting for ; and so the proof of the being of a God is much more complete than the proof of the objective reality of matter. For here there are only two alternatives to choose between : an Intelligent Mind or Chance. But chance means *the absence of definite order* ; and it is impossible to account for the presence of order by its absence. The hypothesis of an Intelligent Mind, therefore, is the only one left.

It is then unphilosophical to explain mind by matter, inasmuch as matter itself—including of course, our own bodies—is by far the more hypothetical of the two. We can conceive of mind without matter, but our very notion of matter is a hypothetical explanation of certain states of consciousness. All that we absolutely *know* about it might plausibly be described as a mode of mind.

But if even the material objects themselves, by which we believe ourselves to be surrounded, are only hypothetical—if the belief of their existence is forced upon us only by the necessity of accounting for our mental experiences—much more obviously are what we call laws, or force, or energy, purely mental conceptions, both at first and always. No actual inspection, no microscope, no analysis ever reveals to us *force*. We can see the motion of masses, we can believe in the motion of molecules ; but the force which makes them move is neither in the masses, nor in the molecules, nor in their movements—it is only in our own minds. "*No Energy*," says Dr. Martineau,\* "has ever come under human notice, and disclosed its marks, so as to discriminate itself from others, similarly apprehended. This is not simply true thus far as a matter of fact ; it is true permanently as a matter of necessity. We might watch forever the relations of bodies and their parts *interse*, and though we had eyes that ranged from the microscopic minimum to the analysis of the milky way, we should fetch no force into the field of view ; and the whole story of what was laid open to us would be a record of

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\* Contemporary Review, Vol. XXVII, pp. 529-530. Dr. Martineau's two papers in this volume on "Modern Materialism ; its attitude towards theology," and the Lecture of which they are a vindication, are a most valuable contribution both to philosophy and theology. Their value and depth are only brought out into stronger relief by Prof. Tyndall's criticism of the Lecture in "Fragments of Science," pp. 331 Et Segg. (Am. Edit.)

interminable series and eddies of change. What are called the 'transmutations of energy' are nothing but transitions from one chapter of that record to another. A certain catena of phenomena runs to an end; the first link of a new one is ready to take its place; a body's fall is stopped; its temperature rises; the thermometer in the kettle ascends to 212° Fahrenheit and stays there; the water turns to steam; this is observed and nothing more than this. And this list of metamorphosed energies deceives us, if we take it for anything beyond an enumeration of those junctures between class and class of consecutive movements. Did we bring to the contemplation of nature no faculties but those which constitute our scientific outfit, I see no reason to believe that it would come before us under any other aspect; or that we would ever be tempted to paint its picture or tell its history in dynamic terms."

This seems to be admitted in a rhetorical and rather angry passage, quoted by Dr. Martineau, (in the same Essay from which I have extracted the preceding paragraph) from Dr. Du Bois-Reymond. "Power," he says, "regarded as the cause of motion, is nothing but a more recondite product of the *irresistible tendency to personify* which is impressed upon us; a rhetorical artifice, as it were, of our brain, snatching at a figurative turn of thought, because destitute of any conception clear enough for literal expression. In the notions of Power and Matter we find recurring the same dualism which presents itself in the ideas of God and the world, of soul and body; the same want which once impelled men to people bush and fountain, rock, air and sea, with creatures of their imagination. What do we gain by saying that it is reciprocal attraction whereby two particles of matter approach each other? Not the shadow of any insight into the nature of the process. No, strangely enough, our inherent quest of causes is in a manner laid to rest by the involuntary image tracing itself before our inner eye, of a hand which gently draws the inert matter to it, or of invisible tentacles, with which the particles clasp together, try to seize each other, and at last twine together in a knot."

Assuredly, so far as materialism can lead us, we do find neither power nor cause. But science itself is founded on the very belief of causality—were it only in the form of unconditional and invariable precedence and succession of phenomena. The ultimate data of science as expounded

by its ablest teachers, are atoms and force—not atoms and *movement*. Force has been imported into matter from an altogether different region; but now that it has been imported into it we can never get it out. It is perfectly true that as applied to the material world alone, the expression “Persistence of *energy*” has no meaning; it is a highly metaphorical equivalent for the *concatenation of movements*. But whence comes this “irresistible tendency to personify?” Personifying means investing something with the attributes of a person. The particular personal attribute with which we invest nature or matter is power, force. But where did we find that notion? If it is not in matter where is it? Surely, the answer is obvious: it is in mind, and it is nowhere else. If it really is in matter after all, it is there as an independent stranger or lord. We *infer* that it is there because we *know* that it is in ourselves—not in our bodies, but in our spirits. There are hundreds of millions of human beings who never so much as heard of that dogma of science which is now, to draw on a term from theology, *de fide*: the doctrine of the persistence of energy. There is not a single human being who is not perfectly familiar with power, with force. There is no language which does not contain a name for it—not one without some word to express its activity. These words are as old as language itself. They are older by millenniums than the first principles or earliest rudiments of science, and they are in all languages because the thing they stand for is in all human beings. It is the most obvious fact in human nature—never overlooked, never mistaken for anything else. There have been religions, ethical systems, social systems, political systems, of all degrees of worth or worthlessness—and around these have gathered doctrines and technical terms endlessly varying in connotation and in appropriateness. The names of God, and State, and gentleman, and virtue, and vice, and honor—these, and such as these, have passed through innumerable variations of meaning. But the word *power* has never been absent and its meaning has never changed. It stands for something *sui generis*, incapable of definition for it defies analysis into simpler elements. Everybody knows what it means, not because he can explain it, but because he has it and uses it. It is the primary fact of human nature and of human experience.

It is perhaps worth noticing also, that mind and matter or mind and the human body or the nervous system differ

from each other not only in those incommunicable and irreconcilable attributes which Mr. Bain has enumerated, but also in the unity and permanence of mind, as contrasted with the perpetual flux, and waste of nerve-substance. Every thought, we are assured, involves some physiological waste of the matter of the brain. It is probably certain that a man seventy years old, has not a single atom in his skull of the brain which he possessed when he was ten years old. The whole of it has absolutely perished and gone. The new matter by which the waste has been repaired, has not the slightest connection with the brain substance that had been used up. And not only is this true of the whole brain after an interval of many years; but it is true of that part of the brain which we use in thinking; after every effort of thought. The elements of which it is composed may now form part of a glass of water which we offer to a friend; or of a flower; or of a lucifer-match; or of a dog. Indeed, the brain is forever changing; and what we mean by saying that we have still the same brain that we had yesterday, is simply this: that the waste matter has been replaced by new matter which occupies approximately the same place, and is capable of performing, not indeed the same work, but work almost exactly similar to that which was performed by the matter which has now disappeared. Now what possible resemblance is there between these phenomena of the brain, and those mental experiences of which everyone of us is perfectly conscious? In adult-life we perfectly well remember the thoughts and feelings, the pleasures and disappointments of our earliest childhood. When Socrates reviewed his life, just before he drank the hemlock, it is perfectly certain that his whole career rose vividly before his mind. His disputes in the market-place, and in the streets; the characters of his various disciples, Plato, or Alkibiades; the oracle of the Delphian Apollo declaring him to be the wisest of men; his life-long struggle with the Sophists; his trial and condemnation; his unwavering confidence in immortality. No teacher of science ever writes the new edition of a lecture or a treatise, without a perfect recollection of the old one. He reviews the whole course of thinking or experiment which has led him to reverse, or modify, his earlier opinions. In a word, our whole mental life is always before us, and always as a whole. Are we really to be told then, that this is a cerebral, and not a mental phenomenon? We remember to-day, what took place fifty years ago. That

act of memory is a present state of consciousness ; but its very peculiarity, that which distinguishes it from a sensation or an anticipation, is that it brings back the past. Where does it get the past? Not, assuredly, from the existing brain which it makes use of in the very act of remembering; for no part of the brain was in existence, as brain, fifty years ago. Do we then get that part, which we are so perfectly able to reproduce, from the past brain, of fifty years ago? Why, the elements of which that brain was composed may be anywhere. Are we then to get memory out of the glass of water, or the dog's tooth into which the brain of fifty years ago has been transformed?

Indeed, memory, if it were the only mental phenomenon with which physiology is incompetent to deal, would be itself an insuperable difficulty in the way of identifying phenomena of mind, with phenomena of matter. Thus, for instance, Mr. Bain describes the (hypothetical) "mechanism of retention" (*Mind and Body*, p. 91): "By every act of memory, every exercise of bodily aptitude, every habit, recollection, train of ideas, there is a specific grouping, or co-ordination of sensations and movement; by virtue of specific growth in the cell functions." This theory might be less startling, not to say absurd, if memory were a late acquisition in mental experience; if it were a slow process or growth. But the very first act of memory is as perfect as the very last—the memory of a baby as the memory of Lord Macaulay. It begins with life itself; it is the condition of consciousness. All consciousness, Mr. Bain assures us, in all sorts of phrases, and with great copiousness of illustration, implies *change*. But the change itself, which produces consciousness, implies memory; you are only conscious of *change* by remembering the previous state. The interval of time may be infinitesimal; but there is an interval. In the life of every human being there is a first experience, a second experience, and the memory of the first experience, and the perception of the difference between the two; and all these are inextricably blended together in what may be considered the very first clear state of consciousness. Or, to express it otherwise, there is the "I," the "self," and its inward or outward manifestations. There is this perfect personality in the first moment of every human being's life, long before any "mechanism of retention" could be possibly constructed. The first link is as mysterious, though it is not so big, as the whole chain. "The

mechanism of retention," if there be any, must *follow*, on Mr. Bain's theory, and be produced by that very retentiveness which it is invented to produce. It is like an immense net-work of telegraph wires, first constructing themselves, next constructing a multitude of stations, and last of all, creating an *operator*.

Biologists are, of course, eager to discover new generalizations. Generalization is the triumph of science. And the hope of reducing great multitudes of dissimilar phenomena under a few general laws; and then, perhaps, these few derivative laws under fewer; and at last, perhaps, under some one primary law of nature, is the very main-spring of scientific endeavor. But it is not always remembered that there are limitations to generalization arising not out of our present ignorance of facts, nor out of the present imperfection of our instruments of observation, but out of the very nature of things:—a limitation, therefore, which no addition of knowledge, or improvement in instruments, can possibly remove. I cannot hope to explain this in any words of mine, that would be half so lucid or effective as those of Mr. John Stuart Mill. The passage to which I allude occurs in the 13th Chapter of the third book of his *Logic*—the *Logic of Induction*. He says: "Since we are continually discovering that uniformities, not previously known to be other than ultimate, are derivative, and resolvable into more general laws; since (in other words) we are continually discovering the explanation of some sequence which was previously known only as a fact; it becomes an interesting question whether there are any necessary limits to this philosophical operation, or whether it may proceed until all the uniform sequences in nature are resolved into some one universal law. For this seems, at first sight, to be the ultimatum towards which the progress of induction, by the Deductive Method resting on a basis of observation and experiment, is tending. Projects of this kind were universal in the infancy of philosophy; any speculations which held out a less brilliant prospect, being in those early times deemed not worth pursuing. And the idea receives so much apparent countenance from the nature of the most remarkable achievements of modern science, that speculators are even now frequently appearing, who profess either to have solved the problem, or to suggest modes in which it may one day be solved. Even where pretensions of this magnitude are not made, the character of the solutions which



are given or sought of particular classes of phenomena, often involves such conceptions of what constitutes explanation, as would render the notion of explaining all phenomena whatever by means of some one cause or law, perfectly admissible.

It is therefore useful to remark, that the ultimate Laws of Nature cannot possibly be less numerous than the distinguishable sensations or other feelings of our nature; those, I mean, which are distinguishable from one another in quality, and not merely in quantity or degree. For example: since there is a phenomenon *sui generis*, called color, which our consciousness testifies to be not a particular degree of some other phenomenon, as heat or odor, or motion, but intrinsically unlike all others, it follows that there are ultimate laws of color; that though the facts of color may admit of explanation, they never can be explained from laws of heat or odor alone, or of motion alone, but that however far the explanation may be carried, there will always remain in it a law of color. I do not mean that it might not possibly be shown that some other phenomenon, some chemical or mechanical action for example, invariably precedes, and is the cause of, every phenomenon of color. But though this, if proved, would be an important extension of our knowledge of nature, it would not explain how or why a motion, or a chemical action, can produce any sensation of color; and however diligent might be our scrutiny of the phenomena, whatever number of hidden links in the chain of causation terminating in the color, the last link would still be a law of color, not a law of motion, nor of any other phenomenon whatever. Nor does this observation apply only to color, as compared with any other of the great classes of sensations; it applies to every particular color, as compared with others. White color can in no manner be explained exclusively by the laws of the production of red color. In any attempt to explain it, we cannot but introduce, as one element of the explanation, the proposition that some antecedent or other produces the sensation of white.

The ideal limit, therefore, of the explanations of natural phenomena (towards which as towards other ideal limits we are constantly tending, without the prospect of ever completely attaining it) would be to show that each distinguishable variety of our sensations, or other states of consciousness, has only one sort of cause; that, for exam-

ple, whenever we perceive a white color, there is some one condition or set of conditions which is always present, and the presence of which always produces in us that sensation. As long as there are several known modes of production of a phenomenon (several different substances, for instance, which have the property of whiteness, and between which we cannot trace any other resemblance) so long it is not impossible that one of these modes of production may be resolved into another, or that all of them may be resolved into some more general mode of production, not hitherto recognized. But when the modes of production are reduced to one, we cannot, in point of simplification, go any further. This one, may not, after all, be the ultimate mode; there may be other links to be discovered between the supposed cause and the effect; but we can only further resolve the known law, by introducing some other law hitherto unknown; which will not diminish the number of ultimate laws." Mr. Mill quotes in confirmation of these views a passage from the very admirable "Logic" of Mr. Bain, which contains, moreover, a very apt illustration of the uselessness, even when there does exist a bare possibility, of reducing under some one general law sets of phenomena which have far more points of difference than of resemblance. "Gravity," he says (quoted in Mill's "Logic," ii. 7), is "an attractive force; and another great attractive force is cohesion, or the force that binds together the atoms of solid matter. Might we then join these two in a still higher unity, expressed under a more comprehensive law? Certainly we might, but not to any advantage. The two kinds of force agree in the one point attraction, but they agree in no other; indeed, in the manner of the attraction, they differ widely; so widely that we should have to state totally distinct laws for each. Gravity is common to all matter, and equal in amount in equal masses of matter, whatever be the kind; it follows the law of the diffusion of space from a point (the inverse square of the distance); it extends to distances unlimited; it is indestructible and invariable. Cohesion is special for each separate substance; it decreases according to distance much more rapidly than the inverse square, vanishing entirely at very small distances. Two such forces have not sufficient kindred to be generalized into one force; the generalization is only illusory; the statement of the difference would still make two forces; while the consideration of one would not in any way simplify the phenomena of

the other, as happened in the generalization of gravity itself."

But assuredly no one denies that the differences between mind and matter, are far more numerous and important than the differences between gravity and cohesion. In fact, they have no points of resemblance. To reduce them under one general law would be therefore, wholly "illusory," and the generalization merely verbal and not real.

I believe then that I have proved that no sufficient reason has yet been shown for abandoning the old definition of the word "man."

Man is a composite being. As distinguished from other animals, he is what we call spiritual; he has a mind; and he manifests himself, on this side of his nature, by senses, intellect, emotions, will. It is of this part of his nature that we are thinking, when we are contemplating what he is. When, however, we turn our attention to his bodily structure, by virtue of which alone he would be the sole occupant of the highest order of living creatures, we speak, if we would conform ourselves to the usage of all civilized languages, not of what he is, but of what he has.

This bodily structure, being the most perfect of all known organisms, is also in many respects that which is most unstable. It is liable through a thousand avenues to almost every kind of injury, and may quite easily be rendered, wholly or in part, unfit for the uses of the spirit; especially is the whole nervous system of most unstable equilibrium. And hence it comes to pass, that almost the slightest disturbance—a little morsel of undigested food, for instance—may seriously affect, not indeed the mind, but that very complex structure which is its chief organ. Nevertheless, these two remain perfectly and incommunicably distinct, even though, in this world, they can never be separated. If there be any ultimate law, to which the phenomena of both of them may be reduced, it must be looked for altogether outside of the physical sciences. It can be none other indeed than that law to which all forces and all phenomena are to be reduced. It can, in fact, be none other than that Living Will which is the source and the sustainer of the whole universe.

But if man be thus essentially different, in the duality of his being, and in his modes of operation, from all other living creatures, we may reasonably expect that he will not be subject to precisely the same laws of development, or precisely the same process of evolution to which all the rest

of nature seems to be subject. His body, indeed, may have been brought to its present perfection in the same way as the body of an anthropoid ape has been developed. Thus much, at any rate, may be admitted for the sake of argument, whatever any body's own private opinion may be as to the reasonableness of such a theory. For, even if any one believes that the book Genesis is intended to give us a really scientific account of the formation of the human body, we may, at any rate for the purposes of the present argument, lay that account entirely aside. We may do this first, because it is not of the slightest use, in any argument, to rely upon authority which the other side entirely repudiates; and secondly, it is not of the slightest importance to the argument in which I am now engaged, *how* the body of man was formed, and whether it required a million years for its making, or only a minute, so long as it really has been formed, and is, what it is. But I may remark, in passing, that the book Genesis is not such very easy reading, as to be made readily available, for the uses of any dogmatism on any scientific subject. We read, indeed, that God formed man out of the dust of the ground. This, of course, may mean that the Almighty molded a sufficient quantity of whatever earth was nearest, into a shape resembling the human body; and then, by a single act of creative power, changed it into a real and living man. But this interpretation, to say the least of it, is not "of faith," and may be denied without heresy. On the other hand, the Old Testament narrative may simply mean, that the human body was built up out of those very same elements which are to be found in profusion in the common earth, united in fresh combinations, rendering it fit for the use of the immaterial Spirit. But any theory on this subject, whether true or false, in itself, is wholly irrelevant to the argument in which I am at present engaged. For thousands of years, man has been essentially what he is to-day. All that time he has had his place in nature; has had to compete with all other forms of life; and moreover, every member of the human race has had to compete with every other. Now the question is, has man, during the long course of his history, been subject to those laws, and especially to the most important of those laws, to which all other living creatures have been subject; and has the process of his development been on the same lines as theirs. In other words, can the present condition of the human race, and especially that part of the human race

which has attained the greatest perfection, be accounted for, by the "struggle for existence," and the "survival of the fittest." I believe not. I believe, on the other hand, that the progress of the human race has resulted from a persistent and successful endeavor to evade the first of these laws, and by a total indifference to the second of them; and I will now proceed to give my reason.

Perhaps one of the most charming chapters in Mr. Darwin's "Origin of Species," is the chapter on the struggle for existence. "Nothing is easier," he says, (Amer. Ed. 1873, pp. 49 et seq.) "than to admit in words the truth of the universal struggle for life, or more difficult—at least I have found it so—than constantly to bear this conclusion in mind. Yet unless it be thoroughly engrained in the mind, the whole economy of nature, with every fact on distribution, rarity, abundance, extinction, and variation, will be dimly seen or quite misunderstood. We behold the face of nature bright with gladness, we often see superabundance of food; we do not see or we forget, that the birds which are idly singing round us mostly live on insects or seeds, and are thus constantly destroying life; or we forget how largely these songsters, or their eggs, or their nestlings, are destroyed by birds and beasts of prey; we do not always bear in mind, that, though food may be now superabundant, it is not so at all seasons of each recurring year. . . . A struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase. Every being, which during its natural lifetime produces several eggs or seeds, must suffer destruction during some period of its life, and during some season or occasional year; otherwise, on the principle of geometrical increase, its numbers would quickly become so inordinately great that no country could support the product. Hence, as more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual with another of the same species, or with the individuals of distinct species, or with the physical conditions of life. It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms; for in this case there can be no artificial increase of food, and no prudential restraint from marriage. Although some species may be now increasing, more or less rapidly, in numbers, all cannot do so, for the world would not hold them. There is no exception to the rule that every organic being

naturally increases at so high a rate, that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by a single pair. Even slow breeding man has doubled in twenty-five years, and at this rate, in less than a thousand years, there would literally not be standing-room for his progeny. Linnæus has calculated that if an annual plant produced only two seeds—and there is no plant so unproductive as this—and their seedlings next year produced two, and so on, then in twenty years there would be a million plants. The elephant is reckoned the slowest breeder of all known animals, and I have taken some pains to estimate its probable minimum rate of natural increase; it will be safest to assume that it begins breeding when thirty years old, and goes on breeding till ninety years old, bringing forth six young in the interval, and surviving till one hundred years old; if this be so, after a period of from 740 to 750 years, there would be nearly nineteen million elephants alive, descended from the first pair."

This short extract will be enough for my purpose; and, at any rate, will recall to the minds of those who have read with any care the "*Origin of Species*," the most fascinating, perhaps, of all scientific treatises, the multitude of facts that Mr. Darwin has accumulated, and the use he makes of them. But before I proceed it may be well to restate exactly what I am endeavouring to do, in the argument in which I am engaged. I am endeavouring to defend the old definition of "man," and to do this, by showing that no theory of materialism, however refined, can obliterate, or even in the slightest degree lessen, the enormous difference between mental and material phenomena; that no generalization can ever reduce them to any one law, or set of laws, which will account equally for both of them. Neither of them can be regarded as a mere mode of the other; and even if we should attempt the experiment of so reducing them, it would be very far more hopeful to begin with mind than to begin with matter. I now then proceed to show, or at least I will try to show, that no theory of materialism, however refined, can account for the actual historical development of the human race, nor for the mode in which civilized human beings live at the present time. Now it must be clearly understood that, according to the theory that I am combating, the whole superiority of the human being over any other animal depends, in the last analysis, upon the superiority of his organic structure. The human hand is an immeasurably

more useful instrument than the hoof of a horse. The erect posture is immeasurably more advantageous than walking on all fours, or crawling like a worm or a serpent. But the superiority of man consists especially, in the relative perfection of his nervous system; and chiefly, even here, upon the mass and quality of his brain. It is this which makes a man superior to an ape; and, even within the human race itself, a European superior to an African, or a normally developed man to an idiot. I suppose that this would scarcely be denied, by those who maintain any theory of materialism whatever. It is implied, and with tremendous practical result, in all modern theories of moral insanity, and in the tendency to regard drunkenness, for instance, not as a vice, but as a disease. It seems, in fact, to be doubted by some recent authorities, whether a case of really original, or what is called idiopathic drunkenness exists; and at any rate, in every case of habitual drunkenness, diligent search is always made for some hereditary taint.

Man, then, is to be regarded as a splendidly constructed animal; not only endowed with consciousness, like a dog, but capable of high intellectual achievements of immense range and complexity, and of profound and lofty emotions; of all of which, however, there are germs, we are assured, not only in the lower but in the lowest animals or even plants. Thus, for instance, Mr. Herbert Spencer, by an abuse of language which seems to me simply monstrous, traces what he calls altruism, by infinitesimal gradations, down from the most heroic self-sacrifice in the noblest men (and we must not forget that Jesus of Nazareth is regarded as only a link in the long chain of material development), to acts which do not even imply "automatic nervous processes; acts not in the remotest sense psychical, but in a literal sense physical."\* In other words we pass without a break from the multiplication of the simplest beings by spontaneous fission, *i. e.*, by splitting into two or three pieces, to the death on Calvary. At some point in the development we arrive at consciousness, which is a differentiation arising out of, or consisting in, a more complete nervous system; but it comes so gradually that we scarcely know whether to look for it first in plants or animals. The intelligence of a dog and the intelligence of a man; the maternal instincts of a tigress

\* *Data of Ethics*, p. 201, (Amer. Edit.)

and of a woman; the fear and cowering of a beaten or threatened hound, and the awe and attitude of S. Paul "bowing his knees," to the Father of the Spirits of all flesh—all these differ not in kind but in degree. Man then is an animal, subject to the same laws, developing by the same processes, as an oyster or a monkey; and, also, like them liable to be surpassed by some noble product of an unceasing evolution. Moreover, *as an animal*—apart from that Spirit which has hitherto been supposed to be a part of his nature, *sui generis*, and incapable of resolution into anything else—man is, most undoubtedly exposed to the *struggle for existence*. Probably nobody has ever doubted this, at any rate, since the publication of Mr. Malthus' "Essay." An animal is, or becomes a *higher* animal, simply because he possesses and uses, to the utmost, his superior advantages in that struggle. Sometimes the superiority consists in greater physical strength; sometimes in greater cunning; but, whatever it consists in it *is always used*; used for the suppression or destruction of whatever interferes with the life or comforts of the individual creature which possesses an advantage of any kind over another. It is used, as a matter of fact—which is, indeed, involved in their superiority—most incessantly and most unrelentingly by animals highest in the scale of nature. Plants fight to the death without knowing what they are doing; but when we arrive at living creatures which do know what they are doing, the fight becomes the one conscious purpose of life, or the one keenest enjoyment of life. Even when fighting is needless they kill by neglect; the wounded stag is left to perish by "his dappled friends." So soon as the physical comforts and discomforts of maternity come to an end, and new sexual impulses resume their sway, even the higher mammals will drive away with violence, if need be, their own offspring, will treat them as mere strangers, and fight and kill them whenever, in the struggle for existence, they become dangerous or inconvenient. And it must be remembered that not only barely sufficient nourishment is necessary to keep a breed in a position of permanent superiority, but abundant nourishment. Each will try to secure as much as he can eat, though every other must die of starvation. In a word, each race retains its rank of supremacy by quietly leaving its superabundant and feebler individuals to perish. We thus see, throughout all nature, a struggle for existence. The very "waters wear the stones;" and if any



living being should refuse to take part in the struggle it must inevitably be destroyed ; if any race should refuse, it must immediately degenerate and rapidly perish.

Well, then, at the very head of all animal natures we find man—subject on any theory of materialism to the very same laws to which all other animals are subject, depending for his superiority on his superior organism, and maintaining that superiority by constantly using his large advantages in the struggle for existence. He is beyond all comparison the most powerful of all living creatures ; making up for deficient strength by an immeasurable superiority of cunning, and by the faculty of accumulating the results of long continued and almost infinitely varied experiences. He can generalize ; and in very many instances can predict a moderately near future with unerring accuracy. Moreover, he is not only like all other animals subject to the struggle for existence, but alone of all animals, he knows that he is, and perfectly understands the conditions of success and victory. A dog only recognizes his rival when he sees him actually gnawing the bone that he wants to gnaw himself. But a man can recognize his rivals years in advance, can recognize whole classes of them, and can take precautions years in advance to prevent their rivalry from becoming effective. He does not wait till a grown tiger is at his throat ; he exterminates the whole race of tigers as far as he can reach them. His most formidable rivals indeed are his own fellowmen. But they also are (on any theory of materialism) short-lived animals, who may be rendered powerless or destroyed like all other dangerous or mischievous beasts. Here we are on the clear road of development. One law for all—one condition of self-preservation and improvement. Man can protect himself better than any other animal ; but his most dangerous enemies are *other men*—and, of course, he will treat them accordingly.

Now the question is—*does he ?* Take the case of an overcrowded, densely populated manufacturing district. Wages are low, but for even low wages there is an intense competition. The working-people are at starvation point. Every new mouth to be filled means an older mouth to be left so much emptier. A panic occurs—mills are worked on short time—one after another they are closed. Here is a struggle for existence with a vengeance. Every man in the starved community is stronger than every woman, every woman than every child, every child than every

infant. While the starvation lasts every brain is getting impoverished. Degenerate fathers beget children who will become the fathers of children more degenerate still. Within a very short time that whole population must lose its animal, and therefore its human superiority. What are they to do, following the line of development along which all living creatures have traveled, and by means of which all races of living creatures have become what they are? The struggle for existence does not mean lying down in contented starvation to die; it means fighting and killing until there is enough food available for the few who may survive—the fittest because the strongest. Every child will fly at the throat of every infant—every woman at the throat of every child—every man at the throat of every woman. There will be a huge slaughter, never pausing till the balance of human need and the things by which that need may be supplied, have been readjusted. Now the question is—do men settle their difficulties in this summary fashion, or in any way distantly resembling it?

There are diseases—and the very worst diseases that can afflict mankind—which are beyond all question hereditary. Individuals so afflicted are themselves, as animals, utterly worthless; but if they marry and have children, they propagate far and wide unspeakable horrors. They are a direct loss of the most serious kind to the sum of human happiness. In a mere struggle for existence, in which it is the very object of the struggle that only the fittest should survive, they ought to be allowed to perish. All through nature, until we come to man, they would be allowed to perish or would be at once destroyed. Why do not men kill them? What is the meaning of hospitals for the incurable, for the insane, for epileptics, for deaf mutes? All these institutions are clearly opposed to that great law of nature, upon the steady operation of which, we are assured, has depended the whole variety and the gradual perfecting of all orders of living beings.

There can be only one answer. As individual man has a dual life, the life of flesh and spirit—on the one side subject to all physical laws, on the other, apart from and superior to them: so in all his social relations he finds it impossible to live as other animals live. He cannot take bread out of the mouth of the famishing even to save his own life. He cannot leave the feeble to perish. It is his one marked distinction that he will have no part in the struggle

for existence, that he would rather die than kill. He cares nothing about "the fittest;" he protects all; keeps from wasting the last flickering flame of life, saves with anxious solicitude even worthless lives, and refuses to despair of any human being while there is will in his spirit or breath in his body. Instead of exterminating his competitors he helps and strengthens them, and is never contented till he has elevated them to his own level. His perfection consists not in ability to fight better the cruel battle of life but in retiring from it. He does not in this respect, complete, he totally reverses the process of development by which all other living creatures have come to be what they are.

"I trust I have not wasted breath:  
I think we are not wholly brain,  
Magnetic mockeries; not in vain,  
Like Paul with beasts, I fought with Death;

Not only cunning casts in clay:  
Let Science prove we are, and then  
What matters Science unto men,  
At least to me? I would not stay.

Let him, the wiser man who springs  
Hereafter, up from childhood shape  
His action like the greater ape,  
But I was *born* to other things." \*

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\* In memoriam, CXX.

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

## A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN SWITZERLAND.

### II.

#### THE PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH REGARD TO A CONSTITUTION FOR THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH TILL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EPISCOPATE.

A FEW months before the delegates of the Old Catholic societies and congregations assembled, to deliberate on an organization of the Church, the Old Catholics of Switzerland had suffered an irreparable loss. Professor Munzinger of Berne, who had thus far been the leader of the Old Catholics, died suddenly on the 28th of April, 1873. His funeral was the grandest that Switzerland had witnessed within man's memory. There was a widespread fear that his death had dealt the death-blow to the reform movement in Switzerland. Excellent and influential men were not wanting, who took an earnest interest in Catholic reform, but among them not one was endowed with such a rich knowledge of Canon law and Church history, or stood so high in authority with all religious and political parties.

Thus it happened that protracted and passionate discussions arose on the fundamental question—which ought to be no question at all to a Catholic—viz., whether in the Old Catholic community the Episcopate should be retained, or no.

In the canton of Geneva there had never been a dispute on this point. On the contrary, as early as February 19th, 1873, a statute had been incorporated in the constitution

of the State requiring that the Catholic parishes of the canton of Geneva should belong to a Swiss diocese, that the Bishop of that diocese must be acknowledged by the government, and that in the canton only the Bishop acknowledged by the government be allowed to exercise Episcopal jurisdiction. These constitutional enactments were confirmed, on July 24th, 1873, by the Federal Council of Switzerland. The Old Catholics of Geneva, in order not to relapse under the jurisdiction of a Roman Catholic Bishop, had therefore to insist on the erection of an Old Catholic bishopric. They could not form it themselves, because in another article of the new constitution of Geneva it was declared that the Bishop should not be permitted to have his See within the boundaries of the canton. The Old Catholics of Geneva, led by Hyacinthe Loyson, turned, therefore, to their co-religionists in the other cantons with the urgent request to organize the Church and to establish the Episcopate.

In some places, however, no great willingness was shown to comply with this plan. The laity feared, from the restoration of Episcopacy, the renewal of controversies in matters of Church polity. This was the feeling especially in the canton of Berne. Here the Bishop of Basle had governed with absolute power. The education of the clergy, the appointment of curates, the administration of Church property had been almost entirely under his control. The Roman Catholic Bishops had repeatedly come into collision with single parishes and with the government of Berne itself, most frequently at the filling of vacant cures. These conflicts were now to be forever forestalled by doing away altogether with the Episcopate. Quite a number were also led to such conclusions through their intercourse with the surrounding Protestants. There were even some priests who in consequence of their controversies with the Roman Bishops had gradually become reconciled to the idea of a universal priesthood resting in the congregation and conferred in the election by the people. Lastly, the Catholic Episcopate had fallen into utter disrepute in Switzerland by its despicable bearing at the Vatican Council and afterwards.

Thus it came to pass that, at a time when the Old Catholic Bishop of Germany was already consecrated (August 11, 1873), the Swiss Old Catholics were still disagreed whether they should have any bishop. At a meeting in the city of Olten, on August 31, 1873, more than forty congregations

were represented by ninety delegates. According to the request of the Genevese delegates an Old Catholic Bishopric was to be consecrated at this assembly. But they confined themselves to the promulgation of some general principles to avoid a breach at the first meeting. It was declared that the Church constitution of the Old Catholics in Switzerland should rest on a purely democratic basis, and that by following the representative system, it should be further developed in higher synodical organs. Besides, another assembly of delegates was contemplated which was to elect an intermediate Diocesan Commission. On this commission it would devolve to have preliminary consultations concerning the "eventual erection and organization of the bishopric." But it was added that the "eventual election" of a Bishop should be made by a Synod, and that the Bishop should assume no responsibility whatever toward other authorities than the government of the country. Hereby it was, however, not intended to impair the free association, in the spirit of the ancient Church, of the various national Churches into a universal, truly Catholic Church. Moreover, the Assembly of Delegates expressed the desire that some reforms in no wise touching the essentials of the Church should be introduced. Among such reforms they counted the adoption of the vernacular in public worship, except at the Mass, the abolition of fees for ministerial acts, the interdiction of the Peter's pence and of the sale of indulgences, the restriction of pilgrimages and image worship, the admission of sponsors from other Christian communities. No great effect resulted from this Reform decree, for the changes mentioned in it as desirable, had been already carried out almost completely in most congregations which favored Old Catholicism. The resolutions concerning the organization of the Old Catholic Church were, on the other hand, calculated to defer indefinitely the establishment of the Church.

We owe it to the Old Catholics of Geneva that a further procrastination in this important matter was avoided. Upon their repeated petitions the Central Committee, appointed on December 1st, 1872, began to occupy itself seriously with the project of a Church constitution. The first scheme was drawn by Edward Herzog, Curate of Olten; but it was altered by the Committee in some essential points, and at last submitted for consideration to an assembly of delegates convened at Berne on June 14th, 1874. The meeting took a somewhat stormy course. Sev-

eral speakers rose against the proposition of a Bishop. During this discussion Hyacinthe Loyson and Edward Herzog left the Hall in a demonstrative manner, but were brought back by friends almost by main force. Herzog, when called upon to speak, declared that as a Catholic priest he was resolved to stand firm on the ground of the Catholic Church; by the abolishing of the Episcopate and the Catholic priesthood, this ground would be abandoned. If this fatal step were to be taken by the assembly, he had no longer a place in it. When the vote was taken on the question, to the surprise of all, nearly the whole assembly—with the exception of no more than four or five votes—rose for the retention of the Episcopal office.

But now the contest began about the rights and privileges of the proposed bishop. It was impossible to bring these negotiations to a termination at Berne. Another convention of delegates was, therefore, called for the 21st of September, 1874, at Olten. Here the institution of Episcopacy itself was no longer assailed, but in the interest of the "democratic character" of the Church the privileges of the Bishop were much restricted. So it was resolved that the President of the Synod and also the President of the Synodical Council should be elective officers, which meant nothing but that the Bishop must not be president of either body. In a special article provision was made for the deposition of the Bishop. Some prominent clergymen, Dr. Deramey of Pruntrut among them, advocated even a periodical re-election of the Bishop. This proposal was however not accepted.

The other enactments of the constitution did not lead to any very animated discussion. The Synod is, according to these provisions, the highest legislative and judicial body of the Church, deciding matters of discipline and ritual, while it is invested with no authority in questions of dogma. On all sides the principle was accepted that only an Œcumenical council has authority to formulate a Catholic confession of faith. Members of the Synod are all priests exercising ministerial functions in the Church. Every congregation sends beside a delegate. Congregations, numbering more than one hundred voters, have a claim to one more representative for every two hundred voters. Every Catholic is entitled to vote who has suffrage as a citizen and has formally connected himself with an Old Catholic congregation, or has remained in it from the beginning. The executive and administrative board of the

Church, to which also belongs the preliminary deliberation of synodical matters, is the Synodical Council. It consists of nine members: four clergymen and five laymen, the Bishop being a member *ex officio*. The Synodical Council meets regularly in each quarter of the year and, besides, as often as business requires. The curates are elected by the congregations, and must be instituted by the Bishop to signify their Church Communion. If the Bishop refuses an appeal may be made to the Synod, which has power to decide the question.

The congregations in the several cantons are allowed to organize into particular ecclesiastical associations. This has been done in the canton of Geneva where the administration of the Church affairs is placed in the hands of a *Conseil Supérieur*. The *Conseil Supérieur* consists of five clergymen and twenty-five laymen, and orders its deliberations according to the enactments of the Bishop and the Synodical Council, thus preventing any conflict.

The convention of delegates at Berne adopted as the official title for the Church, then to be legally constituted, the name of THE CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SWITZERLAND. On account of a peculiar Swiss idiom, the designation "*Alt Katholisch*" might have led to misrepresentations, and was therefore not chosen. The analogy of "*Alt Ammann*," Ex-Bailiff, and of similar expressions, might have suggested something that we had been and that we were no longer. On the other hand, the name Christian Catholic—*Christ Katholisch*—had been used of old with preference by those who found in the title "Roman-Catholic" a *contradictio in adjecto*.

The Church Constitution agreed upon by the two assemblies convened at Berne and Olten was now submitted to the several parishes and societies for adoption. All associations which declared their agreement obtained thereby, the right of being represented at the first Christian Catholic National Synod. It assembled June 14th, 1875, at Olten; thirty-four clergymen and ninety-seven laymen being present. The large number is explained from the fact, that in the Bernese Jura, in consequence of political events before mentioned, thirty small congregations had been received, on organization, which were then condemned by the Church of Rome. All of them attached themselves at once to the Christian Catholic Church, in order to gain strength. As soon as the Synod was organized, the Church constitution, accepted at the two preliminary assemblies,



received its ecclesiastical sanction. An order of proceedings, previously framed, was adopted ; also the rules for the election of a Bishop, for the Synod and the Synodical council.

This was hardly done when the Geneva delegation rose to urge with great energy the immediate election of a Bishop. However, upon the objections of the delegates from German Switzerland and in view of the promise that within four months the Synod should meet again, the Genevese were once more appeased. The Synodical Council was then elected and some proposals for reform were put on record. The clerical members of the Council were appointed only provisionally, considering that the future Bishop was to be *ex officio* member of the Council. The four curates, Chavard, Lochbrunner, Schroeter, Herzog were chosen from the clergy. Hyacinthe Loyson would certainly have been among the elected of clerical members, but, unfortunately, he had just resigned his cure in Geneva.

The promise made to the Genevese to hold another Synod within four months could only be fulfilled on the 7th of June, 1876. On this day, the SECOND CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC SYNOD assembled at Olten. There were present fifty-four clergymen and one hundred and eight laymen, so that the Synod numbered one hundred and sixty-two members. No Synod has had since so large an attendance. The unusually strong representation was due to the circumstance that this time the election of the Bishop was to take place. No more reasons for further delay were alleged. The election was held in the Parish Church of Olten. There were one hundred and fifty-eight voters of clergy and laity, by whom one hundred and seventeen votes were cast for Edward Herzog, who had been since transferred to Berne as professor of Theology and curate of the Parish Church. He declared that he could not accept the election, but was afterwards moved through the representations of his friends and especially by the prayers of the people of his former cure at Olten, to signify his acceptance at another session of the Synod, on June 8th. The Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland was thus fully constituted. The event was at once communicated by telegraph to the Old Catholic Synod of Germany assembled at the same time. The following Sunday it was announced from the pulpit in all Christian Catholic Churches of Switzerland and celebrated with ringing of bells.

According to the rules prescribed for the election of a bishop, the Bishop elect had to procure his consecration from a Catholic Bishop within three months.

For a long time Bishop Herzog's relations to the Old Catholic Bishop Reinkens of Bonn had been those of intimate friendship. It was therefore only natural that this Bishop was asked to act as consecrator. Much stress was however laid on a compliance with the Nicene Canon that at a consecration three Bishops should officiate. Bishop Herzog journeyed therefore to the Old Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht to induce him to assist with one of his co-adjutors at the consecration. The Archbishop, however, demanded of Herzog a written acknowledgment of Pope Pius IV. and the profession of faith of the year 1564. To this condition Bishop Herzog could not and would not accede; and under the circumstances then existing nothing was to be done but to have the consecration conferred by Bishop Reinkens alone. This took place with an extraordinarily large attendance of the people on the 18th of September, 1876, in the Parish Church of Rheinfelden (Argovie).

The Christian Catholic Bishop had already received his formal acknowledgment by the Federal Government and by several cantonal governments. The four cantons of Argovie, Berne, Geneva and Soleure sent official representatives who were present at the consecration, and at the following administration of the oath to the Bishop, and they signed the records of these acts. The same government undertook also afterwards the endowment of the Christian Catholic Bishopric. They assigned to the Bishop five thousand francs annually. In limiting the grant to this amount it was understood that the Bishop should be also curate of some parish, and thus derive an income. Such has been the case, since. It must be admitted that this is in accordance with the institutions of the early Church, but to-day when the jurisdiction of a Bishop is no longer confined to the congregation of a city and its suburbs such an arrangement must necessarily impair the efficiency of a Bishop.

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### III.

#### THE CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SWITZERLAND AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EPISCOPATE.

After the election of a bishop the development of the Christian Catholic Church took its regular course. The

Councils prescribed by the constitution were held every year. At these meetings, Church reforms were discussed, the reports on the more important events in the several congregations were read, general measures of administration were laid out, and other business of the kind transacted. Some detailed communications concerning the reforms and the outward growth of the Church may be of general interest.

Already at the Synod at which the Bishop was elected, resolutions for reform of fundamental importance were adopted. At the Union Conferences of Bonn, in September, 1874 and 1875, which preceded this Synod, the representatives of the Greek and Anglican Churches together with Old Catholic Theologians had, under Doellinger's presidency, negotiated with a *view* to the reunion of the Churches so far separated. With regard to these proceedings the President of the Christian Catholic Synodical Council, the aged Landamman Keller, of Aarau, proposed to the Synod to express their joyful assent to the endeavors for Union thus begun, Professor Dr. Michaud of Berne availed himself of this opportunity to propose to the Synod a declaration by which the Christian Catholic Church defined more distinctly its own theological basis. The proposal, with some unimportant changes, was adopted by the Synod, and read as follows :

"The National Synod of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland declares :

'We welcome the endeavors of the Old Catholic Church of Germany, to bring about a reunion of the Protestant, Greek and Anglican Churches, as a great work designed by the Founder of the Christian Religion Himself, and therefore comprehended in the will of Divine Providence; and we shall stand up with all our power for the furtherance and fulfilment of that work.

'In order to advance this union in a feasible way and in accordance with the principles of the undivided Church, we own Jesus Christ alone as the one Lord of the Church, under whom, in communion with her episcopate, her priesthood and her diaconate she governs herself as an autonomous body.

'We acknowledge, as Œcumenical, *i. e.*, as universal, only those seven councils (and the genuine test of their decrees only) which have been accepted as such by the undivided Church of the East and West.

'We recognize as Catholic morals none but the morals

of the Gospel as interpreted according to the universal, continuous and unanimous testimony of the several Christian Churches.

'We hold as Catholic Liturgy and discipline only the liturgy and discipline which were celebrated and administered in the undivided Church.'

The very men who knew the full bearing of these resolutions and desired their adoption could not fail to see that a thorough discussion of them at the Synod was impossible; they refrained, therefore, from all expression of their opinions. A few members, however, of the Synod requested personally the mover of the resolutions, Professor Michaud, not to have the number of the Œcumenical councils mentioned. It was in vain. Yet there is not the remotest danger that, with regard to the seventh council, the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland will ever fall into undue veneration of the images of the Saints. In other respects, this fundamental decision of the Synod had a most beneficial effect, and formed the basis for all Church reform afterwards undertaken.

For a long time the Christian Catholic Church was engaged in the reform of the liturgy. M. Loyson, indeed, had as early as 1873 translated the Latin Mass into French, and had used, in all acts of worship, the French language exclusively. In the Bernese Jura and in German Switzerland such change would have appeared to the people as an arbitrary presumption, by which the sanctuary would be profaned. It was also soon evident that a mere translation of the prayers of the Mass from the Latin into the vernacular was not admissible, but that a reconstruction of the liturgy was needed. But many shrunk from this difficult and responsible task. In German Switzerland the priests contented themselves, therefore, for a time, with the accustomed Latin Mass and used the vernacular only at the administration of the Sacraments, at funerals, at vespers, at ministerial benedictions and the like functions. The formularies for these ministrations were not wanting.

Until the year 1814 a large part of German Switzerland had belonged to the diocese of Constance, which had been administered since 1802 by the noble Vicar General Wessenberg. And even after the Swiss cantons had been separated from the See of Constance, and that diocese itself had been dissolved entirely in 1821, by a despotic decree of the Pope, a large portion of the Catholic popula-

tion of Switzerland continued under the spiritual influence of Wessenberg. This man, set aside and ill-treated by Rome in the most disgraceful manner, was yet, until his death, in 1860, ever active for the reform of the Catholic Church. This ritual, published in 1831, in the German language, made its way into many Catholic congregations in German Switzerland, and was kept in use until the commencement of the Old Catholic reform. Thereby the task of the Christian Catholics was made much more easy. The Synod of Olten (1876) appointed a commission for the editing of a new ritual. They undertook a revision of Wessenberg's book and submitted it to the Synod of Berne in 1877, for its authorization. In 1878, at the Synod of Aarau, a French edition of the ritual received likewise ecclesiastical sanction. By this action the matter of liturgies was for the present settled; yet, the Christian Catholic Synod may soon have to occupy itself with another revision of some formularies.

The task of obtaining an agreement with regard to the liturgy of the Mass itself presented still greater difficulties. The Synod of 1876 had expressly allowed the translation of the prayers and songs of the Mass into the vernacular, and took the publication of a "Missal" into consideration. To the Synod of Berne (1877) two liturgies for the Mass were submitted, one, in the German language, had Dr. Watterich, curate of Basle, for its author, while the other was compiled by Professor Dr. Michaud of Berne. The Synod resolved, however, a postponement of the matter. At the Synod of Aarau, in 1878, not much more progress had been made and, therefore, action was again deferred. Thereupon several clergymen, of the canton of Geneva, elaborated a new liturgy of the Mass, which met, however, with many objections; so that also the Synod of Soleure (1879) refused to enter more deeply into the question. In the meantime the confusion increased, there being from three to four different liturgies in use beside the Latin Mass. Bishop Herzog made now, with the assistance of some friends, a draft of another liturgy, advised about it with the clergy of French and German Switzerland, procured its publication in a Book of Common Prayer, and submitted the whole, in 1880, to the Synod of Geneva for their approval. It was unanimously authorized. This is the same liturgy which was translated into English by the Rev. Dr. Hale of Baltimore, and printed with the proceedings of the last General Convention of

the American Church.\* At the Synod in Basle, in 1881, the French edition of the Prayer Book was likewise authorized. Thus a question which had often excited the minds of the members of the Church, was brought to a peaceable, and we trust a happy solution.

With the change of the liturgy of the Mass, the question about the communion in both kinds is closely connected. On Christmas-Day, 1875, two curates in the canton of Geneva began to administer the Sacrament in both kinds. Against this proceeding other clergymen of the same canton entered a protest and made complaint to the Synodical Council. The council demanded that the two curates should cease disturbing the unity of worship. The Synod of 1876 confirmed this measure; in the following year, however, the Synod received a petition with sixteen signatures praying to have the communion in both kinds restored. Only two or three clergymen of the canton of Geneva were still opposed to the intended reform. On the other hand it found no advocates in any of the congregations of German Switzerland. In the course of centuries the opinion had grown upon the minds of the Roman Catholic people that communion in both kinds was a Protestant form and incompatible with the reverence paid by Catholics to the most sacred Sacrament. Even a very thorough instruction would not have overcome this feeling. Therefore it was thought best not to touch this question, especially as the conviction prevailed that communion in one kind did not impair the efficacy for grace of the Sacrament. The Synod of 1877 still resolved not to take up the matter for discussion. In the meantime new petitions, covered with numerous signatures, and praying for the restoration of communion in both kinds, were presented to the Synod by many congregations of French Switzerland. As no well informed person doubted the actual justice of this demand, the Synod of Aarau in 1878, declared with a very large majority, that the administration of the Holy Communion in both kinds was catholic and allowable. On December 18th, 1878, the Bishop issued a Pastoral Letter which regulated the form in which the Sacrament was to be administered. It corresponds exactly with the rules of the Book of Common Prayer of the Anglo-American

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\* The "*American Church Review*" of January contains a critical comparison of the Daily Prayers and Vesper Service and of the Eucharistic Office in the Swiss Ritual, with the Latin originals, from which it is apparently drawn. See Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, pp. 11-64.

Church. On Christmas-Day, 1878, the Holy Communion was given in both kinds to the faithful in all our Churches of the canton of Geneva and also in the Parish Church at Chauxdefonds, Canton of Neuchâtel. But to this very day the Roman form has been retained in many Christian Catholic congregations; although the chalice may not be refused to those who desire it.

Much more readily was the question solved, concerning auricular confession. M. Hyacinthe Loyson had actually proceeded in the matter, before a Synod could deal with it. As early as 1873 he preached in Geneva that every one was at liberty to submit to auricular confession or to refuse. The result was, that the confessionals were at once removed from the churches and that confession almost ceased. The example was followed in German Switzerland by the congregation at Basle. In a motion made by this congregation, the Synod of 1876 declared auricular confession optional. Now, in order to guide the faithful to a serious preparation for the receiving of the Holy Communion, forms for penitential acts of the congregation were added to the ritual. They contain, with an exhortation for an examination of the conscience, also forms of a general confession, penitential and absolutionary prayers, and therefore all essential parts of private confession. These acts of penitence are performed, however, only on high festivals and on occasions when a large part of the congregation is wont to commune. On other days it is supposed that every one who wants to partake of the communion, takes part in spirit in the penitential act which introduces the liturgy of the Mass and which is omitted from no celebration. The Bishop has explained and proved at some length the views prevailing in the Christian Catholic Church concerning Confession in a Pastoral, issued on January 20th, 1880. The pamphlet has been largely circulated, also, in Roman Catholic congregations; and every year, especially at Eastertide, large numbers of Catholics from Roman congregations come to participate in the penitential devotions and in the communion. And upon every Christian Catholic priest the duty is enjoined to offer to such as want to make private confession, an opportunity to do so.

At last the abolition of compulsory celibacy ought to be mentioned. This reform would hardly have come to pass so soon, if M. Loyson had not actually anticipated it. When he was called to Geneva he was already married. His example was followed by almost every priest whom

he brought to Geneva from France. Also in other parts of Switzerland there were clergymen who did not wait for Synodical action before they entered into married life. They claimed that the Church never had the right to forbid the priests marrying; therefore no ecclesiastical authority need give permission. Nevertheless the Synod of 1876 took up the question and resolved unanimously: "The qualification for the administration of the ministerial office does not depend on the married or unmarried state of the clergyman." Not a word was said concerning the discipline of the Eastern Church, enjoining marriage before ordination, forbidding a second marriage of the priest and any marriage of the bishop. At present almost all the priests of French Switzerland are married and of the clergy of German Switzerland about one half.

To all these changes also the Catholic people of German Switzerland have been gradually reconciled, which is of the highest importance for the further propagation of the Christian Catholic movement.

Since the election of a bishop in 1876 the movement presented the appearance rather of having gone backward than forward. The President of the Synod, when presenting to the Federal Council of Switzerland the petition for recognition of the Christian Catholic bishopric and bishop, submitted to it also a statistical table showing the strength of the Christian Catholic Church. There were at that time already fifty-five congregations and seventeen societies; and sixty-six priests had joined themselves to the Christian Catholic Church. According to the bishop's report of 1881 the church numbered only forty-two congregations and six societies under regular pastoral care, and fifty-nine priests. Nevertheless the number of members of the Christian Catholic Church has not diminished but increased during the last five years. Among the fifty-five parishes reported in 1876 no less than thirty-three belonged to the canton of Berne and were called into existence by the political events repeatedly mentioned. They had mostly a mere nominal existence. The ultramontane population kept away from the service on principle; while the liberals partly from indifference, partly from fear of the hatred of the ultramontanes, took only a lukewarm interest in the life of the congregation. To-day only seven out of those thirty-three congregations are in existence and of these three more will soon be lost. Only in four parishes of the canton Berne the Christian Catholic element is prominent. In



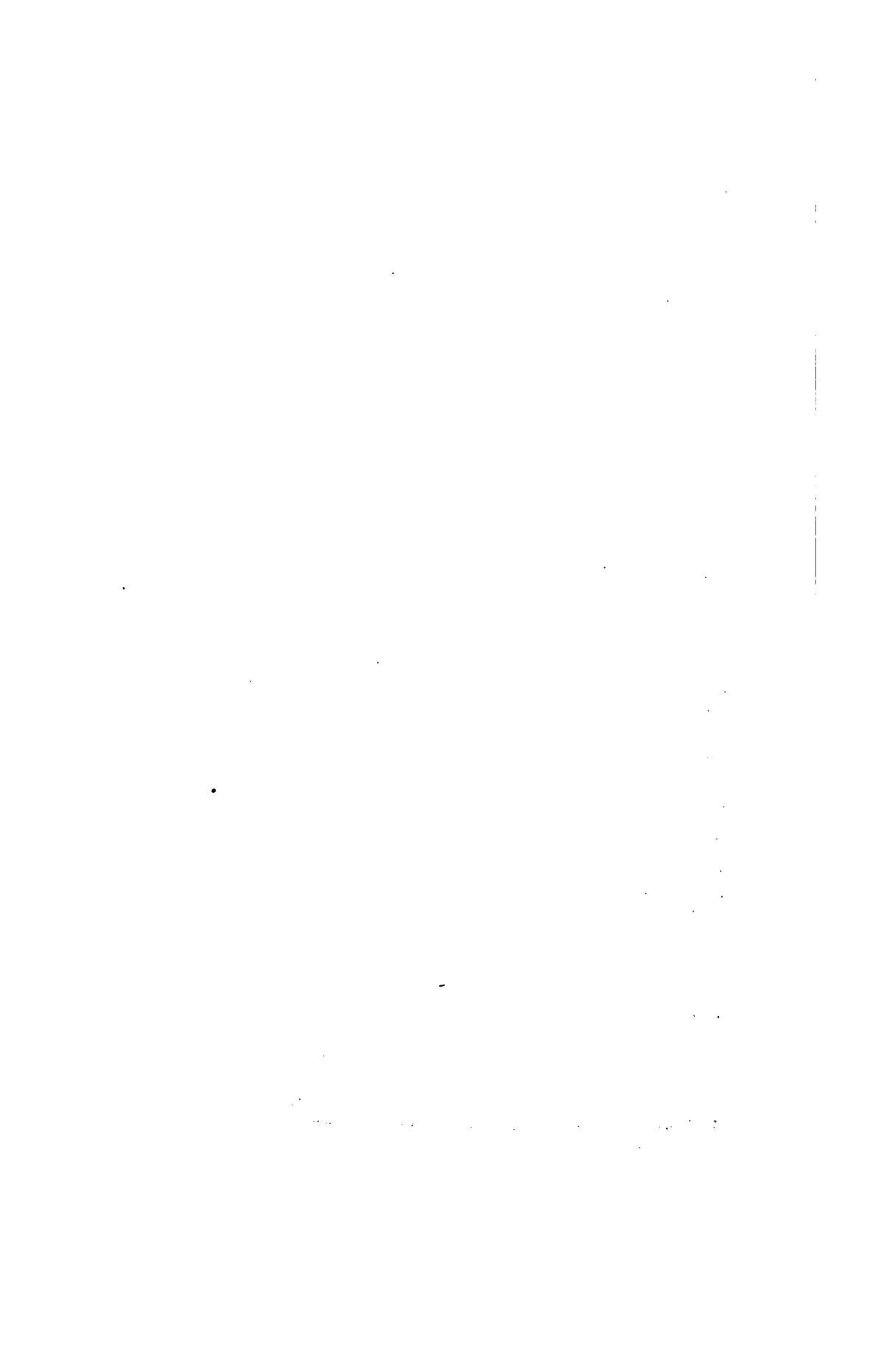
two or three more places, Christian Catholic minorities have organized, but they have no relations to the State. For, the government makes no distinction between Roman Catholics and Christian Catholics, but salaries the curate whom the majority of the Catholic voters duly enrolled, have elected. Since 1876 we have thus lost in the canton of Berne as many as twenty-six congregations apparently in existence. If in the meantime no new congregations had been formed the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland would now number only twenty-nine parishes. The fact that there are forty-two proves that it has grown in extent in other cantons. Our Church numbers, indeed, at present, sixteen congregations: In the canton of Geneva, six in Soleure, eight in Argovie, one in each of the cantons of S. Gall, Zurich, Basle county, Basle city, and Neuchatel. The thirteen congregations added since 1876 have connected themselves with the Christian Catholic Church, not for political reasons but from their own desire and religious motives. It may, therefore, be confidently expected that these congregations will remain true to the Christian Catholic cause. The same holds good of several societies which have separated themselves here and there from the ultramontane majorities, and which hold stated services, although they are not yet constituted into regular congregations. The seventeen societies of 1876, on the other hand, were mere associations of liberal minded men who supported the reform movement, but in many cases never thought of forming Christian Catholic congregations. No reliance could be placed on these associations; and most of them soon disbanded. In reality the Christian Catholic Church has to-day more members than five years ago. While in the Bishop's first report of 1877, the number of children receiving religious instruction in the Christian Catholic Church was given as two thousand nine hundred and eighty-two, the number had increased in 1880 to three thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven. About three thousand of the children thus instructed belong to the congregations of German Switzerland.

There can be no longer any doubt concerning the vitality of the Christian Catholic Church. On the contrary, having passed successfully through a serious crisis, there is the strongest ground for the expectation, that with God's help it will have in a near future another bloom and new prosperity.

The Christian Catholic Church has certainly grown in

importance, since it is not only bound to the Old Catholic Communion of Germany in the bond of sisterly relation but has also received so warm expressions of sympathy from the Church of England and from the Episcopal Church of America. May it be our destiny to become more and more a binding link for the restoration of the great "Covenant of Love" among all believers in Christ.

EDWARD HERZOG.



## CHURCHMEN GUIDING MODERN THOUGHT.

**T**HESE two books are the most prominent indications that a new school is arising within our Church and that a new attitude is to be taken toward modern thought. The one is the complement of the other. The one delineates individualism as it affects personal and social life, and as it antagonizes the great institutions which God has planted in the world for the conservation of society and religion. The other is wholly constructive, and supplies to the statement of catholic truth in the terms of modern thought the spiritual philosophy by which it best accords with the reason of men. The one is diagnosis; the other is the method of cure. Both are written by Churchmen; both are identical as to their general line of thought; both have the same general purpose. They are the first distinct announcement that the American Church has something to say upon religious questions which is both old and new and which is strictly confined to general and

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Individualism; Its Growth and Tendencies. By the Right Rev. A. N. Littlejohn D.D., LL.D. New York; T. Whittaker, second edition, 16 mo. pp. 214.

The Republic of God; An Institute of Theology. By Elisha Mulford, LL.D. Boston; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., crown 8vo, pp. 268.

philosophical thought. Heretofore the ecclesiastical question has been foremost with Churchmen and our weekly press has hardly got done with its petty spar-work on this matter, but the thinkers of the Church are now beginning to address another audience upon other questions. Baptismal regeneration, the Apostolical succession, the much or little of ritual have ceased to be present issues. They are settled in the sense that what the Church has always taught is consented to. General consent has been reached. The thinking men among us, whether belonging to one or another school of thought, are now turning their attention to questions which underlie the thinking of our time and have to do with the guidance of opinion as never before. Dr. Dix has notably done this; Dr. J. C. Smith has done it; Dr. Potter's "Sermons of the City" have done it in humanitarian directions; Dr. R. Heber Newton has done it largely in the way of emphasizing tendencies of the times; Dr. Rulison has indicated his power to think beyond parochial lines; Dr. Harwood long ago set himself toward the morning; Dr. Washburn's light went out before he had given us all that he had to say; Phillips Brooks is hardly more the thinker than he is the exponent of the tendencies of the times; Dr. A. V. G. Allen is quietly instructing men at Cambridge to deal with living questions upon a Church basis; and Bishop Harris and Dr. Kedney in the West see the rising of the sun with the same eagerness that men watch his daily orisons in the East. The Church is alive with men who have been thinking over questions of the day, and the Church Congress opened the way for the expression of opinion at the very time that a general conviction had begun to come over the country that Churchmen have a broader basis for their belief than was supposed, and that they have a practical way of guiding men out of their Protestant confusions. Bishop Littlejohn and Dr. Mulford are simply an advance guard where there is a regiment to follow.

This outline sketch is far from complete, but from careful study of the position of the Church in the person of representative men toward modern thought and especially toward questions coming up freshly every year, it seems to the writer that the Church is coming to deal with American religious questions much as Hooker dealt with English issues three centuries ago. Bishop Littlejohn has probed the disease and gone to its roots at the same time that he has touched the point where the work of recon-

struction begins. The difficulty with us has been in times past that there was no basis in the general thought of the people for the Church's position. The philosophy which sustains the position did not exist beyond the few. Without a spiritual philosophy adequate to the facts which it is intended to explain, Christianity is only a system of dogma. It holds to nothing in the minds of the people. It is not rational to them. It is the hunger for some adequate philosophy which complements Christianity, co-ordinates it with common thought that has prepared the way for the statement of the truths of philosophy which are presupposed in the revelation of the Christ to men. This begins to exist—as it advances men begin to regain the convictions which once they held by force of tradition, and which now they hold by consent of right reason quite as truly as from respect for authority. The Church seems to be furnishing this meeting ground, and both in and out of the Church men are sure to meet more and more upon what is aptly called the Catholic basis of belief. The Church has simply grown out to the larger, and more comprehensive statement of its position, and has met the outreaching thought of those who are seeking light and peace. The value of the books in hand is that as yet they are the best expression of the aim which is beginning to distinguish the thought of the Church. They mark the old method as it grows out into the scientific method.

But we have already delayed too long upon the threshold, in preparing the way to approach them justly. Bishop Littlejohn's book has been noticed in the *Review*, but not, it seems to us, in a manner which does justice to its character or its purpose. The Bishop's evident purpose is to characterize individualism as a tendency in modern thought and life, and as an influence in debasing or breaking up the institutions of society and religion, and to supply, in such degree as was within his limits, the counter-checks to be found in the family, the Church and the State. He is careful to distinguish individualism from individuality or better personality, though we should be glad if the distinction had been more carefully marked. He might have portrayed the evils of individualism less vividly and given more attention to the way out of it into a true personality, but it would seem that by a negative treatment the author was trying to do this very thing. His method is the analysis of individualism to the last degree in order that its devotees in modern life may see

how little it can be relied on, but it is in this way only the assertion, in another form, of the need of that authority by which its evil may be checked while personality reaches its true development. Bishop Littlejohn's book is not a complete treatment of the subject. It is, if anything, a contrast between individualism and institutionalism in present society, between free-thinking and authority, between an unhealthy personality and the personality that works freely from the basis of things settled. Its strength is in this analysis of the aggregate tendencies of the times in one direction, and the statement of what is necessary to restore the family, the Church and the state to their old position as the shelters for the full exercise of our personal freedom in the other. The Bishop discusses the question, as is fitting, chiefly in its religious bearings, and yet at critical points it will be seen that he has fully grasped the religious and the philosophical issues which are involved. The second lecture meets the issues of the day squarely and honestly, and the discussion, if on the old basis, is keen and vital. It is assumed, for instance, that "both the intrinsic and the relative importance of the verities of revelation is determined by their power to move and to benefit human nature, and that every individual has the right to determine this for himself." This is the assertion of the right of private judgment in matters of Christian belief and is met with the counter truth that theology begins with God and lays its foundation on the rock of objective, revealed realities. The aim of the revelation which the living, universal, continuous body called the Church, has transmitted is not to reveal man to himself but to reveal God to man, and by the knowledge of God to enable man to know himself as he is. The key to human nature is the Cross of the Son of God. The method of theology is the method of revelation. It erects itself upon and out of what has been revealed. It interprets man by the redemption. It follows in history the course of the divine revelation, and its subject-matter accords with the primitive traditions of the Catholic Church. The Bishop here insists upon two things,—that no science of mind or matter can sit in judgment on the divine revelation, and that the body of science and the body of ascertained truth are not identical. In other words, the point is to hold "the individual reason to its true office in relation to things divine and eternal and the individual will within its proper limits as regards the organic insti-

tutions ordained of God or mediately of society for the education and discipline of man." This he attempts to do, in formulating the truths of theology, by the analogy or proportion of faith, which is latent in the Scripture revelation and has been authoritatively developed by the Church in the great and universal traditions as embodied in the Creeds. In theology as in philosophy the deductive and the inductive methods of inquiry are indispensable. The deductive method gives us the sacred deposit; the inductive method gives us the proof, partial or exhaustive, as successive inquirers perform their task. Both methods are necessary if theology is to be at unity with the testimony of the Catholic Church and approve itself at the bar of living thought. The analogy of faith thus develops a principle which from the beginning has been immovably rooted in the mind and practice of the Church of God. This is the rule by which any possible re-arrangement of the contents of theology must be conducted if it is to better adapt itself to the altered conditions of the times. The coherent unity of its parts must be sustained, while the historic origin and development of the Christian belief must not be ignored. From the beginning the Church has urged, with a deep sense of their reciprocal help, both the evidential and the philosophical lines of conviction, the one based on the incontestable and specific facts of history, the other dealing with the moral adaptation of Christianity to man. Thus much is based upon Catholic tradition.

But the philosophical line of conviction goes down into deeper issues. "Though in the nature of the case all true revelation of the Divine must be rational because emanating from the Divine reason; yet only what is *explicitly* rational is the proper object of human reason; while what is rational in a latent and implied sense is equally the object of faith." Here Bishop Littlejohn reaches the edge of the bridge which is to help men to cross over from skepticism to belief. The two dominant systems of philosophical inquiry, the one of absolute knowledge—the explicit system the other of partial knowledge—the implicit system can neither be altogether accepted nor altogether rejected. It will not do to deny a knowledge of the Infinite, because with this there is no revelation; neither will it do to say that this knowledge is absolute unless we concede that man is equal to his Maker. The truth comes out here as elsewhere that, to use the Bishop's words, "we must balance, as best we can, the teachings of mutually repel-



lant methods of thought and in any event maintain principles whose contradictions we can neither evade nor reconcile. "Man's power to receive and act upon what is offered him by external authority has a vastly wider reach than his power to criticise what is so offered." There will always remain depths which the mind cannot measure. The ultimate criterion of truth, the final basis of certitude, is in a Revelation the authority of which rests not more upon a reasoned assent to its contents than upon the collateral externals, credentials which attest to reason the divinity of its source. There is something to be said also for the verifying faculty, the faculty that determines the *ought* and the *ought not*, the faculty that gives motive power to mankind, the moral side of reason, but with all the great writers on Ethics from Aristotle to Spencer, the question of the ultimate ground of moral obligation is still in dispute. Christianity has furnished the guide in practical ethics, not the teachers of philosophy.

This is the upshot of Bishop Littlejohn's book, and we have only dealt with this point. He sees very clearly the issue which is foremost in modern life, and shows from the negative side that reason, whether in the form of will or of conscience, is unequal to the task which modern thought has laid upon it. In the last analysis reason is not self-determining; it is receptive. It is not infallible, but in the deep distinction between the *ought* and the *ought not*, it reaches up to to the Divine intuition. It is personality touched by a Person.

The intimation that Dr. Mulford's "Republic of God" is positive where the work on "Individualism" is negative applies only to the method of the argument. Dr. Mulford is never controversial, never pauses for occasional explanations but, after the method of the real logic, advances from beginning to end like the tread of a regiment, with precision, with confidence, with certainty. The two writers are closely in accord, but the Bishop's argument just reaches up to the point of personality with which "The Republic of God" begins. The one book is as much needed as the other and both point the way out of the theological confusions of the day. Some intelligible basis of conviction must be reached before any advance in religious thought can be made. Bishop Littlejohn searches for this by the historical and evidential method; Dr. Mulford, with bolder step, advances by the scientific method. His book could not have been written without the Bible, but when

written the Bible is no longer necessary except as a further illustration of his thought. The "Republic of God" is an institute of theology; it organizes present thought upon the basis of the personality of God reconstructs step by step the old Catholic faith upon the basis of the universal truths of the spiritual philosophy which has always been its complement. It stands out therefore as an exceptional book, and is the last, in succession, of the great works which have attempted to deal during the century with the revelation of the Christ. It is exceptional also in the position of its writer, who is not an alien from the Church, not a brilliant sceptical Jew or German or Englishman, but one of our foremost theological and philosophical thinkers and an eminent clergyman of our own faith. "The Nation", which was his first book, indicated extraordinary capacity to lift an abstract subject up into the region of concrete fact, and the present work shows the same ability to strip away what is local or controversial from theology and discuss its truths in the light of pure essentials.

It opens with the statement that the being of God is the primal truth, primitive in human thought; there is nothing before it nor apart from it, from which it is to be derived. The personality of God is implied in the self-determination,—the perfect determination,—of the being of God. It is in consistence with that process of thought, through the realization of righteousness and freedom, by which there comes the manifestation and from which there is derivative the knowledge of God. Personality with God is in substance the same as personality in man. The elements in the will, and in freedom, and in righteousness are the same. The personality of God is the foundation and the condition of the freedom of man. This makes personality the central principle of the worlds, and, for us, the first principle of human emotion and of human thought. The personality of man not only has its foundation in the personality of God, but in that alone is its eternal life. The personality of God determines our apprehension of His attributes, and is not determined by them, but the perfect manifestation of God to man is in a person. This opens the discussion of the precedent relations of religion and philosophy to the revelation of God. Dr. Mulford believes that religion and philosophy in their end are one, though in certain respects it is necessary to place philosophy above religion, but the Revelation of and in

the Christ is not a religion nor a philosophy. It is not within the process of the history of religions. The Old Testament is not the revelation of a religion but the revelation of God to the world, neither is the Christ the founder of a religion, nor have the writings of the New Testament the revelation of a religion for their object. It is the revelation of the Christ in man, and the finite and eternal life of man. It is a revelation of righteousness, of the righteousness by faith, the ethic formed of the knowledge of God. It is the revelation of a judgment in the presence of the infinite and eternal, in which alone is the right judgment, by individuals and by nations, of this finite world. It is a judgment of the world by One who has lived on this earth and is risen from the dead. Thus the difference between the revelation of the Christ and all religions is ultimate. The revelation is from God but primarily it is of God. It is the revelation of God's own being and will. The revelation of God in His personality, in His spiritual being and relations, is not of and in the physical process of the world. It is of and to a person. "It is a revelation through reflection, through the pure forms of thought, through faith, through experience, through the life of the spirit." This revelation is through relations. It is of the Father and the Son; it is the revelation of that knowledge which the Son has of the Father; its centre is in the relation of the Father to the Son. It is the revelation of the truth, and the truth is set forth as one with the life of God, and as elemental in the life of man. This revelation recognizes the facts in the spiritual life of man.

In the progress of humanity there is the ampler revelation, the clearer recognition, of the eternal, and the realization of it in truth and freedom. In this revelation there is the manifestation and realization of the divine reconciliation. In this revelation God passes judgment upon things finite, and in their relation with things infinite. The ultimate *criteria* of judgment are brought to the knowledge of man. This revelation does not come to man to assert dominion over him. It is light that brings life, and the germination of freedom and its energies. This revelation alone can satisfy humanity. The revelation is not simply an incident in the life of man, as a moment in the limitations of time; it is of the knowledge of the eternal; it is continuous; it is a revelation through experience and through history. It is in us; it is from God, it is of the Christ, it is

the life of the Spirit. The revelation of the Christ is the manifestation of the consciousness of perfect unity with God and again of perfect unity with man. The coming of the Son of man is in judgment on the powers which enslave and degrade man, and in the manifestation of righteousness, in the crises in the life of humanity, in the revelation of the divine and eternal foundations of life. Through the death of Christ the limit of the finite is passed in the realization of an infinite life, and the isolation and separation of death, for humanity, is overcome. In the Christ there was the perfect realization of personality, the self-determined One. In personality there is always the element of unity and of universality, and the realization of personality in men in its advance is towards the universal as found in the Christ. There was in the Christ the highest and fullest assertion of personality. The Christ in his humanity and in his relation to humanity is manifested as the head of the human race in its real and eternal life. The relation of the Christ with humanity has an organic character which does not exist alone in the relations of an external history, it passes beyond the limitations of the finite, in the life of the Spirit. Dr. Mulford now finds, in the life of the Spirit, the life of truth and freedom, the overcoming of the world, and the fruition of righteousness and peace and joy. The chapters on the conviction of the world, the realization of the kingdom of heaven on earth, and the life in which death is overcome, touch the older forms of theology and draw their strength into a new and fresh statement of the atonement, the justification by faith, the meaning of the judgment, and the restoration to men of their proper spiritual personality. There is much to be said on these points. Dr. Mulford has certainly expressed the hopes of the age,—but whether his resolution of evil into the force which one's rising personality finally subdues and makes an experience of the past can be maintained is a point which it is hard to decide. Dr. Mulford is an optimist and takes the best side of a mystery in theology, but in the chapter on the life of the Spirit he carries his thought out fully to its conclusions, by constant identification with the system of the Church, and in the sense in which the Nicene Creed has caused the Christian faith to be understood.

This is not a full analysis of the "Republic of God". It has not been my purpose to thoroughly review either of these books, but rather to so far open their vital points

that one can see their aim and recognize the presence of a new direction in American religious thought. Without endorsing all that Dr. Mulford has written, it may be claimed that his position is the only one that rises above the constant antagonisms and furnishes the point of view for a constructive Christian belief. His book gives men something to stand upon. It organizes the religious common sense of men upon a spiritual basis, and by the method that now obtains in the world of thought and investigation. It lifts men into the sphere where they see truth as a first principle. It touches the thought of the day on the one side ; it opens the way of the eternal to men on the other. It reaches out to more which is involved in the Christianity of the future than any book of the century ; it is, in fact, the thought of the century made accordant with the Catholic belief and with spiritual philosophy ; it meets and solves the religious problems of the modern world.

Both these books are valuable over and above what is their particular aim, because they indicate direction in the Church toward the work which must precede in men's minds the adoption of an ecclesiastical system. It is to be hoped they are but the beginning of a school of thought, at once Catholic and spiritual and philosophical, which without interfering with the Church's traditions shall help us to recognize our duty in the rapid shifting of opinion and bring the vantage of a certain faith nearer than ever to thinking and hungering people.

JULIUS H. WARD.

## CHANGES IN THE LITANY.

AT the last General Convention (October, 1880), it was on motion referred to the Committee on the Prayer Book to consider whether it is not expedient to change the third petition of the Litany by inserting "Comforter" in lieu of "proceeding from the Father and the Son," and in the fourth petition, the words "Lord God Almighty" in lieu of the word "Trinity." (See Journal, p. 71.) That committee reported adversely, and assigned as their reason "inasmuch as the proposed change in the third and fourth petitions of the Litany would involve a change in the well-considered language in which the Church has hitherto expressed its belief *in one of the fundamental principles of the Christian faith;*" and their report was adopted. (See pp. 85 and 172.) The report itself shows how little consideration was given to the proposed changes, which, although wholly independent of each other, are by some odd process of ratiocination jumbled into one. The mover anticipated such a result, but was not astute enough to contemplate such a classification. When he offered his resolution, he announced that he hoped for nothing more than to turn attention to these petitions, and thus lead the thoughtful to their correction. The note of Dr. Huntington, appended to his able and

interesting article on the Revision of the Prayer Book is proof of success, and the mover has received other assurances and other evidence of the interest which has been awakened. When his motion was made, he very well knew there could be no time for its discussion and scarce any opportunity for explanation; and he foresaw the danger of being misunderstood and misrepresented as he has been. We shall endeavor now to vindicate the soundness of his faith, and at the same time to defend and advocate the proposed changes. More than twenty years ago he had determined to make such a proposal if ever he saw a suitable occasion. The proposed revision of the Prayer Book, and the direct proposal to add a petition to the Litany seemed to present such an occasion. Had there been time for a full discussion, the mover himself was conscious that he was not then well prepared for it. Not foreseeing such a concurrence of favorable circumstances, he had gone to the Convention without the slightest preparation.

For the proper treatment of the subject it is absolutely necessary to consider the four first invocations of the Litany together. The four are so intimately related and connected as to make it indispensable that we should have a clear comprehension of each of them. The first three are intended to lead us to the fourth. We set out with the assumption that the purpose of these Invocations is to make most solemn affirmation and to produce the intensest realization of the great truth, that there are three distinct, divine personages in the Godhead, and yet but one only God. The proposed changes should be shown to be more scriptural and therefore assuredly more effectual, for the declaration of these truths; and more appropriate to our petitions, than they are now, or these changes should not be made. To this task we shall address ourselves, frankly, not doubting that it may be accomplished by others, if not by ourselves.

The object is the assertion and realization of the great truth that there are three distinct divine personages in the Godhead, and yet but one only God. The Personages must be distinctly before us and distinctly realized. This can only be vividly brought to our minds by addressing Them by their several and respective divine names as revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures and referring to their several and peculiar offices, and their respective relations to us, as therein described. Both the name and the office,

and also the special relation of each, tous, must be known, and understood and expressed to make this realization of the three distinct personages possible. This will be better understood and can be better illustrated by a careful and reverent reading of the second invocation and petition, which is the true ideal of what each of the others should be. It reads, "O God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us miserable sinners." Here we have severally and distinctly declared, 1st. The divinity of Him whom we address "O God." 2d. His name, "The Son"—revealed to us by the Father, from Heaven. "This is my beloved Son." (Matt. iii: 17; xvii: 5.) And by Himself, "I am the Son of God." (John x:36. Luke xxii: 70.) And so He is called and spoken of throughout the whole New Testament. 3d. His office and relation to us and to all mankind. "Redeemer of the world." So described everywhere—and even in heaven the new song is "Thou hast redeemed us to God." (Rev. vi: 9.) Then we beseech Him to have mercy upon us, confessing ourselves to be miserable sinners. Every word of this invocation is significant, every word instructive and inspiring; not a word redundant or irrelevant, but all leading and inviting the miserable sinner to his petition for mercy.

Let us now look at the other Invocations and see whether some changes in them would not make the whole more harmonious and consistent, and the design more manifest and impressive. The first, as now printed in our Prayer Book reads thus: "O God, the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners."

Some of our clergy, (perhaps many of them,) find this invocation somewhat of a stumbling block. "Father of Heaven," is a limitation of the fatherhood of God, the Father, not at all in accord with Christian sentiment. That sentiment, especially at such a time, craves a father near to us poor sinners, not one far off from us. Some have suggested that, "of heaven" is an improper translation of *de cælis* in the old Latin Litany, which they say should be rendered as *ἐξ οὐρανό* is in Luke xi: 13, that is "heavenly;" so as to make, as there, "heavenly father." But, while this would bring the Father in nearer relation to us, it would not conform to the structure of the other invocations, or to their manifest common design; that is, to distinguish the three persons, while professing the oneness of the Godhead. For this purpose the definite article before "Father" seems essential. If my analysis and conception



of the second invocation be correct, the definite article must be used to designate the name and relation as it is revealed to us, and the change to "*heavenly*" would not meet the exigency.

Some clergymen pause after "Father," and say "O God the Father—of Heaven;" but there is no warrant for this in the punctuation of any Prayer Book we have seen; and it can only be an approximation to "*heavenly Father*," the objection to which has just been stated. And perhaps very few of the worshippers observe the reading, and fewer still understand its purpose, and so do not pray with their understandings, while they conform with their lips. Then neither of these will meet the real difficulty or cure the defect in this invocation. The want is, the mention of some attribute usually applied to and connected with His name in distinction from those usually applied to the Son and Holy Ghost. There is no ancient Liturgy, we believe, which uses such an invocation as "*Father of heaven*," nor is it to be found in the New Testament; while all these ancient Liturgies, and many collects in our own Prayer Book apply certain other terms as descriptive or characteristic of the Father; such as Almighty—Everlasting—which are hardly ever applied to any other person of the Godhead. Indeed in our Book of Common Prayer these two attributes together are rarely if ever applied to any but the Father, so that according to the Liturgy of our branch of the Church, these two combined definitely describe the Father, and his very name imports his near and dear relation to us all.

After the preceding observations upon the first and second invocations, we may venture upon the consideration of the changes proposed in the other two. The third reads thus:

"O God, the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, have mercy upon us miserable sinners."

This is not only defective in the omission of any allusion to the office or relation of the Holy Ghost to us, but is at variance with the whole scope of the four Invocations and Petitions. That the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son presents to our minds none of His offices, and no one of his most intimate relations to man. However true the dogma asserted, what has it to do in such a place? Not only does it fail to suggest anything to warm our hearts, kindle our affections and embolden us to make our petition for mercy, but it painfully and unne-

cessarily reminds us of the unhappy controversy, which has separated the Eastern and Western Churches from each other. We are now, as is supposed, living under the dispensation of the Holy Ghost and are constantly praying for communion with Him; in which communion only, can we hope for communion with the saints of all ages: and that communion is borne from age to age chiefly in and through our common Liturgies and public worship. The assertion of this dogma, unnecessarily and inconsistently thrust into our worship, cuts us off from such communion in prayer with the saints of the first six centuries at least as we are sure they never so addressed the Holy Ghost, but always with the endearing and inspiring attributes of Life Giver, Sanctifier or Comforter. Our Lord promised to send the Holy Ghost to us as the Comforter, who would comfort us and supply our spiritual needs in His absence. How much more appropriate therefore would it be to invoke Him as Sanctifier of the faithful and Comforter. Our own Anglo-Saxon Church invoked the Holy Ghost simply as *Spiritus Sancte Deus*, in her Latin Litany, for five or six centuries; and the present form was not adopted until the latter days of Henry the VIII. (in 1544), about a hundred years after the abortive Council of Florence. There can be no reason assigned why it should then have been inserted, as there can be no reason given now why it should be retained. The dogma is asserted in one of our creeds, the proper place for it, and why should it be inconsistently put here?

The Report of the Committee on the Prayer Book plainly expresses their opinion that the words proposed to be omitted are a *definition* of what they call "a fundamental principle" of our faith. The proper place for such a *definition* is in a creed or article of religion. There such a definition is appropriate and pertinent, but in an invocation or petition, it seems to be the very opposite of both. Why put it here? There are but two conceivable purposes. The first, that the worshipper must be perpetually reminded of this fundamental principle of faith; the second, that He who is worshipped should be reminded, *how* He is divine. The first must reflect upon the worshipper's orthodoxy; the second is simply monstrous. The words proposed to take their place are scriptural, and encourage and embolden us to make our supplication, "have mercy upon us miserable sinners."

We now come to the consideration of that change,

which perhaps may be thought the most offensive ; that proposed to be made in the fourth Invocation, which reads, "O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon us miserable sinners."

The first three invocations designate each of the three persons of the Godhead, separately by the name revealed to us, throughout the New Testament. This certainly cannot be regarded as an unimportant or immaterial feature or characteristic of these three invocations. God continually throughout the Old Testament declares Himself to be a jealous God, and jealous of the name by which He revealed Himself, first to Moses from the burning bush, and afterwards to all the people of Israel. Again and again He speaks of His NAME as if it were Himself. It is no light thing to draw near to Him and address Him by any other name than such, as He has been pleased to make Himself known to us. Here we have a name introduced, which was unknown to the Jews, and to all Christians for the first three centuries—which never found its way into any Liturgy (as we read Littledale) until the sixth century, and then only in the form in which it occurs in our collect for Trinity Sunday — and nowhere in any of the ancient Liturgies, even after Justinian's time, can it be found invoked as it is in our Litany, as a name of God. This of itself separates us in our public worship from so many centuries of the whole Christian Church—breaks the continuity of Liturgical tradition, the only means of communion with all the Saints who have lived in those ancient times ; and that without any just cause. We know full well the origin of this word, which was begotten of strife, coined for controversy, and has no Divine stamp upon it, to warrant its use in such a solemn prayer. For, here it must be remembered, that this fourth Invocation is intended to be the culmination of all these invocations ; and begins with grand ascriptions to the *Name* invoked, not to be found in any of the three preceding. These are only solemn invocations of holy names. This begins with words of fervent adoration of the *Name* to be invoked as if it were the holiest of all. Should the *Name* so adored be an earthborn name, when God so pointedly avows His jealousy of His name, and has made known to us how He is worshipped by Cherubim and Seraphim and all His hosts, in heaven itself, and has declared that He has a memorial name to be honored above all others. In that grand message, which He put into the mouth of the last

of His ancient prophets, which holy men of the early ages regarded as the foreshowing of the melting away of the old ritual into the new—blending both into one, and which we hear so often sounding through our holy places at the beginning of our services, He proclaims, “From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, My name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto My name, and a pure offering; for My name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts.” Was *Trinity* the name, which from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, was to be great among the Gentiles? Was that the name to which incense was to be offered in every place? Is that the name which we shall instruct our missionaries to proclaim as the great name of our God, when they call upon the heathen to worship Him? If not, should we teach our children, and impose upon ourselves the duty, when we bend our knees in this solemn Litany, to call upon Him by that name, as “holy blessed and glorious”? Our sponsors in baptism were not required to pledge us to believe in anything but the Apostles’ Creed, and, in that there is no such name given us to worship.

When I first suggested this difficulty to a friend, a clergyman, he almost rebuked me; and yet a year after, he told me he had never been able to use that word in that place afterwards, as he had done before; and asked why I did not try to have it altered. My answer was that the time had not yet come. Some years after, he addressed a letter to a joint Committee of the Confederate Council appointed to revise the Prayer Book, composed of Bishops, Priests and Laymen (one of which I was), calling attention to this objection to the Fourth Invocation. Others have experienced the same feeling when they have been induced to reflect upon it.

Is there any necessity for the use of this word in this place? Can no scriptural terms be found to take its place? To say none can be found, it seems, would induce hesitation in admitting, and provoke objection to the truth which is intended to be taught. It was the truth before the invention of this word, which was unknown to any language for the first three Christian centuries. And if the truth, it could only be found in the Scriptures; and there are such scriptural terms, as we shall show, and they should be substituted.

The words proposed from the Cherubic hymn, “Lord,

God, Almighty," are certainly more solemn and have the highest scriptural sanction. The other words of that hymn "that wast and art and art to come," may be added without lessening the fervency of our adoration, if we remember that at the utterance of that hymn, the representatives of the Church Old and New, "the four and twenty elders fall down before Him that sat upon the throne, and worship Him that liveth for ever and ever." Such an invocation could not impair the face of the declaration of the force which it is feared would be impugned by ceasing to use the word *Trinity*.

There is also a single word, of the very same number of syllables as *Trinity*, by which the "memorial name" has been rendered in our Authorized Version. That word is *Jehovah* which, as is supposed by Gesenius, Robinson and others, finds its counterpart or development in the Cherubic hymn, and either may be used with Scriptural propriety.

Two objections to the name *JEHOVAH*, of very opposite characters, have been suggested. One was that the pronunciation had been lost and could not be recovered, and therefore *Jehovah* would not truly represent the memorial name. This is rather fastidious. If the Jews did substitute the vowel points of another name of God, for the true points, they nevertheless did write for this name, a word different from the other names of God, which they always recognized as representative of the memorial name, and if we use that word, whether it should be pronounced *Jehovah* as in our Version, or *Yoveh* according to some, or *Yehaveh* according to others, we still would show to the Jew that the Christian accepts the memorial name as the most majestic of our worship, just as he did. This would make the reality of the identity of the old and new Church more palpable to his perceptions. Could we set before us a more constraining motive for a change, than this alone?

The other objection suggested was, that there is no difficulty with scholars about the true word, and that the word is *Yaveh*, but means Christ distinctively and peculiarly, as *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, "the one to come." If this be the peculiarly appropriate name for Christ, in contradistinction to Father and Holy Ghost, it would not suit our purpose, as we must have a word intended to embrace Father, Son and Holy Ghost in one. One of the arguments urged in favor of this meaning of the word, is, that the Septuagint translates the memorial name by Lord, and that is the term applied to Christ throughout the whole New Testa-

ment. No objection shall be made to the reference to the Septuagint, for we have long maintained, what we have recently found expressed by another (Cave, *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*), that "the Septuagint affords invaluable lexicographic aid as an interpreter between the Hebrew of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament," and we shall presently find great use for it, as such; but we cannot admit that a judicious comparison of Septuagint and New Testament Greek will sustain this argument.

The word in the Septuagint for the memorial name is generally *κύριος*, (*kurios*): in our Version it is JEHOVAH, as in Ex. vi., 3, although it is usually printed LORD in capitals when Jehovah is meant. When Lord means some other than Jehovah it appears in common type. There are, we believe, but two places in the Old Testament, where the name is given and is expressly said to be "memorial." The first is in Exodus iii., 15: "The Lord God of your fathers . . . hath sent me unto you; this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial to all generations." In the Septuagint it is *κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν . . . ἀπέσταλκέ με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν ὄνομα αἰώνιον καὶ μνημόσυνον γενεῶν γενεαῖς.* The other is in Hosea xii., 5, "Even the LORD God of hosts; The LORD is his memorial." This, in the Septuagint, is *ὁ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ἐστὶ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ.* We find, *Ho Theos*, following the memorial name, *Kurios*, in both these verses of the Septuagint. So also it is to be found in Ex. xx., in the first five commandments; and again in the sixth of Deuteronomy. The importance of all these texts, and the constant addition of, *Ho Theos*, to the memorial name, *Kurios*, in them, demands consideration in confronting the objection that Christ only is designated in that memorial name. In no place in the New Testament, is the word *Kurios*, so accompanied, when applied to Christ; and that would be necessary to sustain the argument we are endeavouring to confute.

Then if it be true that JEHOVAH was applicable to Christ only, it necessarily follows that the first three commandments teach and command that He alone of the Godhead was to be recognized by the Jews as their God, and it was His name only that should not be taken in vain. This seems to be a complete answer to this objection. Yet much more may be said. Comparing the Septuagint and the New Testament together we find, that both S. Matthew (xxii., 44) and S. Mark (xii., 36) give us our Lord's quotation from Psalm cx., 1, in the words of the

Septuagint, εἰπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου. "The LORD said unto my Lord." Here Kurios is applied to two different persons, the first being Jehovah in the Hebrew, and the second Adonai; and the purpose was plainly to distinguish the one from the other. Again, when our Lord quotes Deuteronomy, vi., 4, "the LORD our God is one LORD," the first part is given by S. Mark in the language of the Septuagint, ὁ κύριος, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστὶ (S. Mark, xii., 29), and S. Mark proceeds and gives the rest of the passage very nearly in the words of the Septuagint, as do S. Matt., xxii., 37, and S. Luke, x., 27, ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν, κτλ. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," with all thy heart, etc. Now these Evangelists could never have understood our Lord to have said that He was the only God, and that He only should be loved, to the exclusion of the Father and the Holy Ghost. It seems plain that *Kurios* never was applied to Christ as the memorial name, and that whenever that name was represented by *Kurios*, it embraced and represented, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

However the learned may differ as to the orthography and pronunciation of this "memorial name," they seem generally to be agreed as to its etymology. Considering the passage in the third chapter of Exodus, where it first appears, as the key, they find its root in the Hebrew verb TO BE. In the same place the Septuagint gives us (ver. 14.) the same verb, in Greek. It does not, however, repeat the first person singular of the present tense, as does the Hebrew, "I am that I am;" but in the second place uses the present participle with the article, thus, Ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὁ ὢν. And in the next verse does not read, I AM hath sent me, but, *ho ὢν*, hath sent me. This must be kept in mind as we proceed; for according to the lexicons, this participle with the article implies real and true existence: and as here employed can mean nothing but absolute, independent existence—He that liveth—The self-existent, and therefore the changeless. In the fourteenth verse in the Septuagint it is *ho ὢν* hath sent me; in the fifteenth verse of the same, *Kurios ho Theos* hath sent me, and this last is said to be the "memorial name"; *ho ὢν* and *Kurios* are therefore both used for that name. These last words, as has been shown, represent the memorial name throughout the commandments in the Septuagint, and in Hosea xii. it is the same with the addition of ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Turning now to the Apocalypse, we find S. John saying to the Seven Churches, "Grace unto you, and peace, from Him

which is, and which was, and which is to come;" in the Greek ἀπὸ ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος, so that ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος are employed as a compound indeclinable proper name of God, governed by the preposition ἀπὸ. Immediately after, in the eighth verse of the same chapter, we read in our version, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." In the Greek (perhaps best) ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Here we have, brought together, the whole memorial name in the Septuagint, in Hosea, and that compound name in the fourth verse of this same chapter of the Apocalypse. This seems to be identifying them as the same, and confirming the Septuagint's version of Exodus throughout; and still more significantly, its version of Hosea, where "Almighty" is used in the place of Lord of Hosts, as in our version—*pantokrator*, in place of the original "God of Sabaoth." We have thus blended, existence—immutability—omnipotence and divinity, in the "memorial name." And soon after we are taught that thus blended, they are to be revered and adored above all others.

In the fourth chapter (chosen as the Epistle for Trinity Sunday) eighth verse, we have the Cherubic hymn: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord, God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." In the Greek: ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, κύριος, ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὃ ἦν καὶ ὃ ὦν καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος. This is the ceaseless praise and worship of all the heavenly hosts—the four and twenty elders as representatives of the earthly Church being permitted to unite by falling down before him that sat upon the throne and worshipping him that liveth forever and ever. The significance of this scene and song in heaven demands devout contemplation, and profound study. First we have before us the ONENESS of the object of adoration. There is but one throne—but one upon that throne (glorious but indescribable), and in the hymn every word, verb, noun or article is singular. It seems to proclaim: "The LORD our God is one LORD—one KΥΡΙΟΣ—one JEHOVAH. Yet the description of the heavenly vision preceding the hymn, was plainly intended to portray to mortal sense the most majestic presence of the whole Godhead. We are shown the throne, emblem of dominion, and Him that sat upon it—the seven lamps of fire, symbols of the Holy Ghost—and during the ceaseless adoration, the Lamb, the Son, appears in the midst of the throne.



Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are here. And around about the throne the rainbow, token of the covenant, and the lightnings and thunders proceeding out of the throne, as out of Sinai. It is the same God who gave his memorial name out of the burning bush from the holy mount and by the mouth of his holy prophet Hosea.

Let it be remembered that in all the passages in the Septuagint to which reference has been made where that word is used, *Κέρας*, represents the memorial name more especially (see Lev: xxiv. 16, Sept.); and that, *ὁ ὄν*, *only* was ever used in the same sense. Throughout this Book of Revelation we have both, again and again addressed and applied as they are in this cherubic hymn to the glorious Godhead. S. John hears in heaven the very words of the Septuagint.

We have now traced the memorial name from its origin, through the most ancient and most famous version of the Old Testament; and this in a language, at the date of this version, most eminent in history, biography, philosophy, poetry and oratory, and which afterwards came to be generally employed in every department of literature throughout the Roman Empire, and was finally consecrated as the language in which was to be published to all mankind the glad tidings of salvation. That was the language of the Gentiles, among whom that name was to be great from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same. We thus seem to have inspired authority and sanction for the use of this name in every language into which it may be translated for the purpose of Christian worship. In our language (now spread throughout the world more widely, as we believe, than any other ever was) we have this memorial name handed down to us for more than two hundred years in a volume, acknowledged to be a standard, and recognized by all Christians who speak with English tongues,—as JEHOVAH. That is now the word in our language for that memorial name, and here, in two places in our Litany, it should no longer be usurped by another.

It is in this same Gentile language we have received those ancient Liturgies in and through which the saints of the first centuries poured forth their praises and thanksgivings, and lifted up their hearts and minds to heaven, in prayer and adoration; and so sanctified those Liturgies and their language to us as well as to them. It is not unnatural or unbecoming, therefore, to turn to these for confirmation of what has been said. In two of these

Liturgies, that of S. Mark, and that of Basil, the Great, the name,  $\delta \omega$ , is used as in the Septuagint. We call it the NAME because it has been shown to have been so used by God himself, in the third chapter of Exodus, just as  $\kappa \rho \iota \sigma$  was; and is frequently employed in the same way in the Apocalypse. In S. Mark's Liturgy it occurs more than once; but most conspicuously in the first prayer after the *Sursum Corda*, "Lift up your hearts," or *Anaphora*. In that same prayer in S. Basil's Liturgy it is the first and most conspicuous word. It cannot be said, however, that the memorial name is recognized in this word ( $\delta \omega$ ) by translators generally, or so interpreted in their translations. On the contrary, Renaudot translates it by *Tu es* or *Qui est*, "Thou art" or "who is." Others either take no notice of it or render it by "everlasting." Neale in his translation of S. Chrysostom's Liturgy does seem to have had in view the memorial name, as he frequently (but perhaps indiscriminately) presents,  $\kappa \rho \iota \sigma$ , as LORD, printed in capitals, as it is in our version, to designate Jehovah; and in one place converts the present participle,  $\omega$ , without the article, into I AM, twice, improperly (as we think) as the words connected with it ( $\alpha \epsilon \iota \omega$ ,  $\omega \sigma \alpha \tau \rho \omega \varsigma \omega$ ) and the context point to Littledale's version, "the same from everlasting to everlasting." Littledale has fully conceived and clearly expressed the conception of this use of the representative of the memorial name: and his authority, fortunately, will not be readily, and cannot be successfully impugned, and we shall therefore refer to his translation with some degree of confidence.

In the prayer after the anaphora of S. Mark's, where  $\delta \omega$  stands less prominently than it does in that of S. Basil, Littledale renders it (possibly in deference to our version) I AM, but distinctly as a proper name. In the same prayer in S. Basil the Great's Liturgy, where it is so much more conspicuous and prominent, he boldly gives it its true meaning JEHOVAH. It is manifest, therefore, that where he renders it I AM in S. Mark's Liturgy, he means and considers that to be the same memorial name.

Is it unreasonable to suppose, when so many others have misconceived this word, that their misconception was caused by their neglect to compare the language in Revelation with that in the Septuagint, while Littledale may have pursued the same process of comparison or collation between the two, which has been presented in this paper? If that be not so, this comparison and collation seem to

support his interpretation. Whatever may have been the process, it is certain that he (and perhaps Neale also) according to his (or their) learning and judgment, has (or have) determined that the Liturgies of the early ages did contain invocations of the memorial name, while ours has not a single prayer or invocation so addressed. Surely this name should not be forever excluded from our Liturgy as it is now. And nowhere can it be introduced with so much significance and appropriateness as in this place.

What has now been said cannot be expected to secure the immediate assent of those whose conservatism leads to alarm at the suggestion of any change, lest, in it lurks some covert design. Even these, however, must see that these changes were not proposed for the purpose of undermining that "fundamental principle (*verity*, rather) of the Christian faith," that Father, Son and Holy Ghost are three distinct divine personages, yet but one God. Some may possibly be led to perceive that the language of the Litany intended to affirm this great truth may be made more forcible by the substitution of one or the other of these representatives of the memorial name, either, alike, kindling the fervor of devotion from sympathy with the cherubic choir in heaven. Some again may even venture to think, that the mode in which this fundamental verity has been sustained, as exhibited in the memorial name and proclaimed in heaven itself, although not ordinarily, if ever, employed to establish this great truth, is nevertheless strictly critical and logical, and may be more readily examined, and perhaps more easily apprehended than the analysis of the original Hebrew word for this "memorial name," by much greater scholars, who discern in its letters and syllables the distinct idea and expression of "Three in One." All who reflect upon the action of the last General Convention, in appointing a Joint Committee to revise the Prayer Book, must see that some changes are very likely to be made. The changes advocated in this paper come entirely within the scope of the design and authority of this Committee. Nothing could enrich our Liturgy more than the making all the first four Invocations and Petitions of our Litany, that most impressive portion of our Common Prayer, more harmonious and consistent, and more luminous (by the light of the everlasting word of Revelation), with the grand truth which is indeed the foundation of all truly Christian faith. The allusion to the Apostles' creed and baptism was not intended to suggest

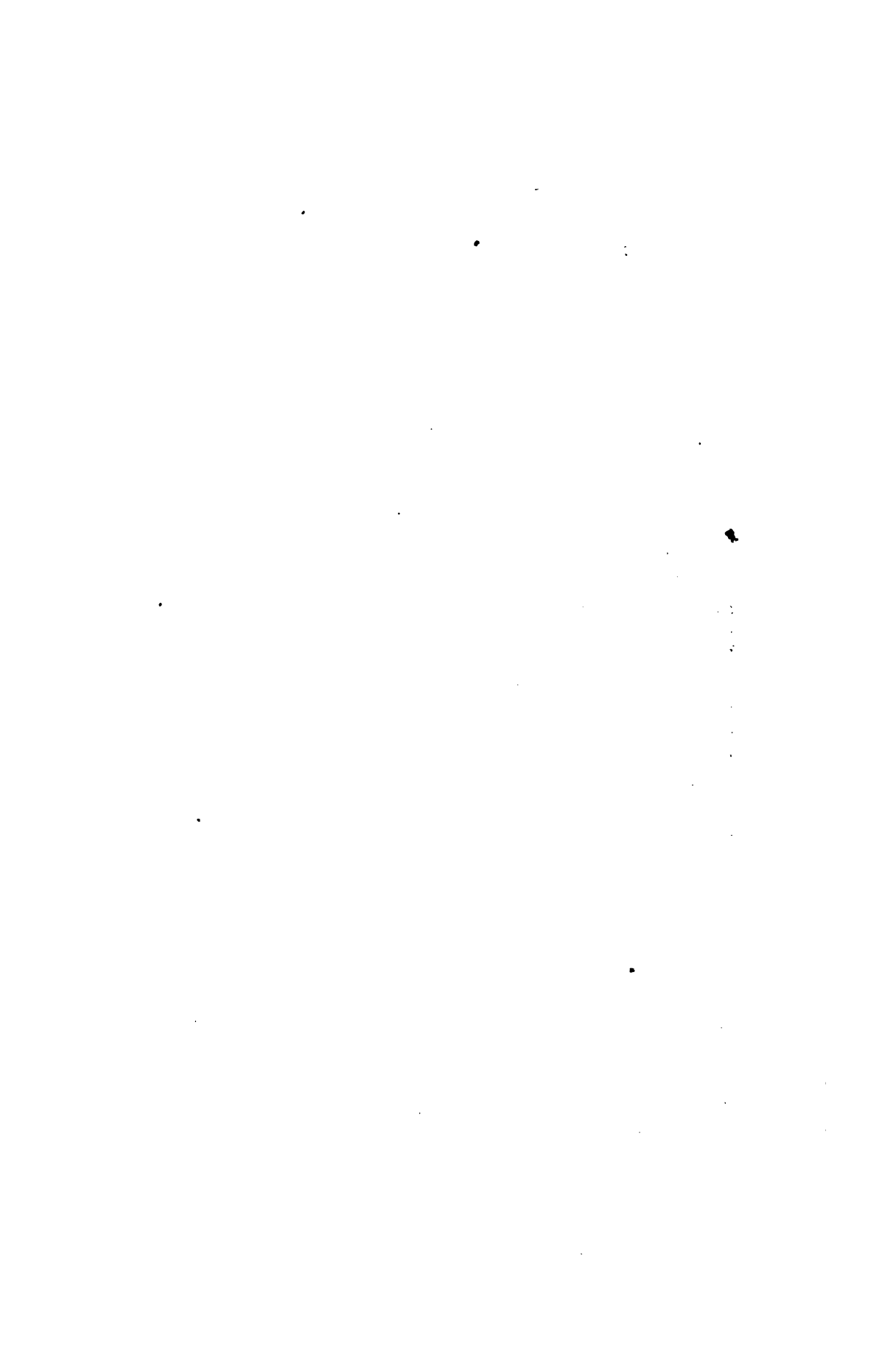
the exclusion of the fourth Invocation, but simply to call attention to the fact that that ancient creed was older than the word objected to. Since writing that sentence, we have seen the Form of Family Prayers put forth by a Committee of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, and it is not an unpleasant coincidence, that the Litanies in that, in these first three Invocations (\*) uses the very words of the answer to what is taught by that Creed, as we find them in the Catechism. The connection between the Creed and the Invocations seems to spring up naturally.

There are many indications that the time of the treading down of Jerusalem by the Gentiles is drawing to its close. When that time comes to an end, we are led to expect the coming into the Church of the Jews. In ancient times the Jews had a reverence for the Septuagint, and their Rabbis recognized the Greek as one of the three languages in which their Scriptures might be written. May not such a change in this last invocation serve to show them, that we Christians worship the same "memorial name" which they so superstitiously revered, and take from them the suspicion that our worship is addressed to One, of whom they never heard? This possibility has always been a strong incentive to my persistent effort to effect this change.

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\* There is no fourth answering to that in the Prayer Book.

EDWARD MCCRADY.



## LITERARY NOTICES.

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### **The Organization of the Christian Churches.\***

THERE are two ways in which the organization of the Christian Church may be studied. It may be studied as it exists now ; in which case the materials available will be the ecclesiastical laws now in force in those Christian communities which are admitted to form part of the Catholic Church. Even here, it is obvious, a definition of "the Catholic Church" must be agreed upon—which is not easily obtained ; and it is equally obvious that the organization of the Eastern, Roman and Anglican Churches differ widely from one another, even in essential particulars. Or the organizations of the Christian Church may be studied historically : just as the British constitution, or the Athenian democracy, or the institutions of Sparta may be studied. In this case the materials will include an immense mass of literature, every part of which may furnish evidence of existing usages at any given period. This evidence will need sifting, and must be employed with judicial impartiality. These modes of studying the organization of the Church differ, as in other respects, so chiefly in this : they begin at opposite ends. The one begins with A.D. 1881, the other with A.D. I. The one may admit, as of immediate though only collateral importance, the question, What ought the Church, as an organization, to be? The

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\* The Organization of the Christian Churches (the Bampton Lectures for 1880.) By Edwin Hatch, M.A., Vice-Principal of S. Mary's Hall, and Gunfield Lecturer in the Septuagint, Oxford. Rivingtons, London, Oxford and Cambridge : New York, E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1881. Price \$3.50.

other admits only of the question, What, as matter of fact, good or bad, wise or foolish, actually was the organization of the Church at any given time? The one is the work of the canonist, the other of the historian. The one might produce a work like Story's on "The Constitution of the United States;" the other a work like Stubbs' "Constitutional History of England." The qualifications for the one kind of work are widely different from the qualifications required for the other. The results are always very different, and may seem to be conflicting. Those who admire the one will nearly always regard the other with prejudice and aversion.

It is, of course, obvious that the organization of the Church *may* be studied historically; for, in fact, the Church is, in any theory, by far the largest part of modern history, the largest factor in modern civilization. Thus Cardinal Newman says, in his "Essay on development," "Christianity has been long enough in the world to justify us in dealing with it as a fact in the world's history. Its genius and character, its doctrines, precepts and objects cannot be treated as matters of private opinion or deduction, unless we may reasonably so regard the Spartan institutions or the religion of Mahomet. . . . Christianity is no dream of the study or of the cloister. . . . It has from the first had an objective existence, and has thrown itself upon the great concourse of men. Its home is in the world; and to know what it is we must seek it in the world, and hear the world's witness of it" (pp. 1, 2, ed. 1846). We all know the conclusions at which Cardinal Newman arrived. We know also the conclusions at which the Tübingen school arrived. The historical study of Christianity, as a growth, or at least an active force adapting itself to ever-varying necessities, both doctrinal and practical, has now for a long time occupied the attention of perfectly competent investigators, whose honesty is as indisputable as their conclusions are diverse. We may say, then, not only that Christianity *may* be studied historically, but that *it must*. Those who care nothing for such researches can let them alone; but they will proceed none the less for any contempt or aversion, and they must be governed by their own laws—those, namely, of historical science and historical method.

Mr. Hatch is well aware that his lectures are likely to be received by many with prejudice; and he is very careful to define the precise limits of his investigations. It is abso-

lutely necessary to bear these limits in mind if we would do justice either to Mr. Hatch or his lectures. It is a disgrace to the Church—not to say a disgrace to modern civilization—that calm historical discussion should excite violent passion and be the occasion of an amount of unfairness that can scarcely be distinguished from sheer lying. Thus Bishop Lightfoot has, by a certain school, been treated with the grossest contempt, and represented as a kind of ignorant or wilful degrader of episcopacy; though he deliberately affirms, as the result of a long investigation—the very significance of which, even when it confirms their own beliefs, many of his critics seem incapable of understanding—that “the institution of an episcopate must be placed as far back as the closing years of the first century, and that it cannot, without violence to historical testimony, be dis severed from the name of S. John” (Philippians, p. 232, 2d ed.; it is very much to be regretted that Mr. Whittaker’s edition was without the notes). It may be well, therefore, to quote here a few sentences from the very end of Mr. Hatch’s lectures, which indicate at least his own belief as to his own opinions. “The difference,” he says (p. 209), “between this [his own] view and the common view is one of degree, not of kind. The one no less than the other assumes the organization of the Church to be divine; but while the one accounts for certain phenomena of ecclesiastical history by a special and extraordinary action of the Holy Spirit, the other is rather in harmony with the belief that God acts in the realm of grace, as He acts in the realm of nature, by the mediation of general and far-reaching laws. It appears necessary to point out the existence of His relation between the two views of which I have spoken, because there is a confusion in the minds of some persons between the *fact* of divine operation and the *mode* of that operation, and a complete identification of the fact with some particular mode, which causes them to regard the questioning of ~~that~~ mode as equivalent to a questioning of the fact itself.”

It may be worth remarking—for it is a great and very rare merit—that Mr. Hatch’s *style* is perfectly lucid. Indeed, it is so lucid that a reader of the text who does not also read and verify, as far as may be, the notes and their numerous references, may fail to perceive the amount of learning, and of the thought which makes the difference between learning and pedantry, with which these Lectures are saturated. Sometimes the style is so felicitous as to



rise almost to a severe eloquence. Thus for instance, in the fourth Lecture, "On the Supremacy of the Bishop," can anything be more admirable in its way than this brief summary of the causes and effects of gnosticism? Even the ordinary reader will perceive its beauty; but only those who have tried to understand that Protean theosophy will be able to appreciate its real merit. "Before the close of the Apostolic Age," says Mr. Hatch (pp. 90-92), "Christianity had come into contact with various large tendencies of contemporary thought. Its first contact was with the great school of fantastic syncretism, which had grown up with Judaism itself, and which has left a considerable monument in the works of Philo. To that school all facts past and present were an allegory. Nothing was what it seemed to be, but was the symbol of the unapparent. The history of the Old Testament was sublimated into a history of the emancipation of reason from passion. If Abel was described as a keeper of sheep, the meaning was that moral wisdom keeps the irrational impulses under control. If Israel was described as warring against Amalek, the meaning was that when reason lifts itself up away from earth, as Moses lifted up his hands, it is strengthened by the vision of God. If Abraham was described as migrating from Chaldea to Canaan, the meaning was that wisdom leaves the prejudices and crude ideas of its original state, and seeks a new home among the realities of abstract thought. To those who thought thus, the records of the Gospel were so much new matter for allegorical interpretation. To the lower intelligence, to the eye of sense, Christ was a person who lived and died and ascended, and the Christian communities were the visible assemblies of His followers, and the Christian virtues were certain habits of mind which showed themselves in deeds. But to the spiritual mind, to the eye of reason, all these things were like the phantasmagoria of the mysteries. The recorded deeds of Christ were the clash and play of mighty spiritual forces; the Christian Church was an emanation from God; the Christian virtues were phases of intellectual enlightenment which had but slender, if any, links with deeds done in the flesh. Before long the circle widened into which Christian ideas were rationalized. Christianity found itself in contact not only with mysteries, but with metaphysics of 'wonderland.' Abstract conceptions seemed to take bodily shape, and to form strange marriages, and to pass in and out of one another like the dissolving scenery of a dream. There

grew up a new mythology, in which Zeus and Aphrodite, Isis and Osiris, were replaced by Depth and Silence, Wisdom and Power, Christianity ceased to be a religion and became a theosophy. It ceased to be a doctrine and became a Platonic poem. It ceased to be a rule of life and became a system of the universe. It was transferred from the world of human action in which it has seemed to have its birth into a supersensuous world of unimaginable vastness, and its truths were no longer fixed facts of faith and life, but the gorgeous, and shifting, and unsubstantial pageantry of the clouds of an autumn sky."

The first Lecture explains the method of study by which alone we may hope to arrive at sure results in any part of the great field of history. This method includes testing the documents which contain the evidence on which we must base our conclusions; ascertaining their authenticity and genuineness, or at least their probable origin and date. The evidence itself must then be carefully weighed, with a due regard to the distinction both of time and locality; and care not to confound "the homiletic value of a father with his value as a witness to fact." When the facts of which we are in search have been ascertained, they have to be compared with one another, and with any other contemporary facts which may help us to discover the law of their sequence. Mr. Hatch directs attention to the peculiar difficulties attending an investigation into what we may call the constitutional history of the Church arising out of the extreme abundance of our materials and the vast range both of space and time over which they extend. Much of the early church literature is apologetic, rhetorical, avowedly partisan; the beliefs and practices of those who were ultimately regarded as heretical or schismatic have, in some very important cases, to be gathered only from the representations and replies of their enemies. On the other hand, Mr. Hatch has largely availed himself of a kind of evidence only recently accessible, and remarkably free from liability to misrepresentation or distortion—the evidence of monuments and inscriptions. He reminds us that his work is in no sense an investigation, historical or otherwise, of Christian doctrine. The concluding paragraphs of his first Lecture are essential to our comprehension of his subject; and we must keep it carefully in mind in attempting to form an estimate of the value of his conclusions. He says (pp. 20, 21): "I propose to begin at the beginning, and to take into consideration as we go on

the conditions of the society in which the Christian communities grew, as well as the facts of their growth. But I do not propose to occupy your time by a preliminary discussion of the ecclesiastical polity of the New Testament, because I believe that that polity will be better understood by the light of subsequent history. At the time when the majority of the sacred books were written that polity was in a fluid state. It had not yet congealed into a fixed form. It seems, as far as can be gathered from the simple interpretation of the text, without the interpretation which history has given it, to have been capable of taking several other forms than that which, in the divine economy, ultimately established itself. It has the elements of an ecclesiastical monarchy, in the position which is assigned to the Apostles. It has the elements of an ecclesiastical oligarchy in the fact that the rulers of the Church are almost always spoken of in the plural. It has the elements of ecclesiastical democracy in the fact, among others, that the appeal which S. Paul makes to the Corinthians on a question of ecclesiastical discipline is made neither to bishops nor to presbyters, but the community at large. It offers a sanction to episcopacy in the fact that bishops are expressly mentioned and the qualifications described; it offers a sanction to Presbyterianism in the fact that the mention of bishops is excluded from all but one group of epistles. It supports the proposition that the Church should have a government in the injunctions which it gives to obey those who rule. It supports, on the other hand, the claim of the Montanists of early days, and the Puritans of later days, in the pre-eminence which it assigns to spiritual gifts.

"Which of these many elements, and what fusion of them, was destined in the divine order to prevail, must be determined, not by exegesis, but by history."

This we may remark is the ground assumed in the preface to the Ordinal of our own Church: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture *and ancient authors*," etc. It would be difficult to persuade ourselves that the ecclesiastical polity of the New Testament, taken alone, is either complete or unambiguous in face of the notorious fact that its meaning is variously interpreted not only by individual scholars but by whole communities, none of whom can pretend to enjoy a monopoly either of learning or candor. Thus the Roman Church finds in the New Testament an ecclesi-

astical monarchy; the Presbyterians an oligarchy; the Congregationalists (including Baptists) a democracy. Moreover, the question is not this: Is the polity of the Church of divine authority? This in the present argument is admitted on both sides. But the question is: In what mode did it please GOD to complete that ecclesiastical organization, the divine authority of which is not disputed? There are only two conceivable answers to this question, each of which may be summed up in a single word—viz., Miracle and Growth. *A priori* the probabilities are immensely in favor of the latter, as the ordinary mode of the divine procedure, and as conforming to that law of parsimony which forbids us to assume a more complex or mysterious cause where a simpler will suffice. Almighty GOD has been sparing of miracles, and has seen fit to work out his most beneficent purposes for the most part by intermediate, and especially by human, agency. Moreover, that natural growth and development has a very large place in the organization of the Christian Church is simply indisputable, and is in fact by no one denied. Nobody pretends to affirm that metropolitans, patriarchs, provinces, œcumenical councils, monastic orders, the coercive power over liberty and property of ecclesiastical courts, form a part of any supernatural church order that can be traced in detail either to the Scriptures or to the primary apostolic tradition. Nobody affirms that in minute detail—to say the very least—the Church polity was exactly the same before and after the Council of Nicæa, before and after the legislation of Constantine and his successors, before and after the fall of the Roman Empire, before and after Hildebrand, before and after the Reformation. Nobody pretends that the status of bishops, of presbyters and of the laity respectively, has been absolutely unchanged during nearly twenty centuries. And the question is, What was the starting point, and what was the course, of these acknowledged changes and developments? So far as Mr. Hatch's lectures are concerned, they must be judged not by their conclusions, but by *the evidence* they produce, and the mode in which they deal with that evidence. The scholarship and (of course) the honesty of Mr. Hatch are beyond controversy.

In this brief notice it is impossible to do more than indicate some of the conclusions at which Mr. Hatch

arrives, with here and there a word or two on the evidence by which he supports them. He directs attention to the enormous multitude of associations existing throughout the Roman Empire at the time of the first preaching of the Gospel. He describes their objects, their offices, and marks the singular resemblance between these and the early Christian communities. The evidence here is largely derived from monuments and inscriptions, and is both valuable and new. He directs special attention to the large place occupied in early, primitive Christian societies by what we call "charity"—a regular and ample provision for the poor, for widows and orphans, for strangers and all in need. A chief part of the duty of the president or presidents of each Christian community arose out of the administration of the funds necessary for this purpose; and the name of the officer to whom this duty was intrusted was common to the Christian communities, and many of the almost innumerable contemporary associations for other purposes—viz., Bishops. Out of this duty, ever-increasing both in magnitude and complexity, arose the need of some division of labor; provided for by the appointment of the Seven, and afterward by the order of Deacons. "In the Christian communities," says Mr. Hatch (pp. 38, 39), "there appears to have been from very early times a body of officers: it must be inferred from the identity of the names which were employed that those officers were, in relation to Christian communities, what the Senate was in relation to a municipality, and what the committee was in reference to an association. They were known collectively by a name which is common in both relations—that of *ordo*: they were known individually as well as collectively by a name which was common to the members of the Jewish *συνέδρια* and the members of the Greek *γερονταί* of Asia Minor—that of *πρεσβύτεροι*; they were also known—for I shall here assume what the weight of evidence has rendered practically indisputable—by the name *ἐκκληνομοι*. In their general capacity as a governing body they were known by names which were in current use for a governing body; in their special capacity as administrators of church funds they were known by a name which was in current use for such administrators."

The conclusion—strengthened by a mass of evidence which we have no space even to indicate—is that in the organization of the Christian Church the divine Providence

made use of existing forms of associations, existing functions and offices ; that the new spirit animated bodies already prepared for all practical purposes, and capable of any amount of modification or development. A further conclusion is that the authority of the clergy is not personal and adherent, but representative and official. What Mr. Hatch regards as sufficient evidence of this is furnished in great abundance, and marshalled with admirable skill.

We must now content ourselves with calling attention to a few separate points of interest in these Lectures ; not perhaps altogether new, but brought out into a prominence and with a purpose that gives them a new value and significance. Thus, for instance, the chief object of the Epistles of Ignatius (whichever version be accepted) has been considered to be the exaltation of the Episcopate ; and undoubtedly that was one of their most conspicuous effects. But Mr. Hatch connects them with an important fact, otherwise proved, which gives to them a slightly different significance. That fact is, the reluctance of many converts to Christianity to connect themselves with any Christian association. We have evidence of this reluctance in the canonical Epistle to the Hebrews, in S. Jude, in the Shepherd of Hermas, in the Epistle of Barnabas ; and the reasons for such reluctance in the time of danger and persecution were so obvious and strong that we may well wonder at the power of that inward conviction by which it was overcome. Hence Mr. Hatch says : "The Epistles of Ignatius make the exhortation to association especially prominent. The chief purpose of those much controverted and most valuable monuments of early Christianity seems to be . . . (accepting the Episcopate as an established institution in the Asiatic churches) to urge those who called themselves Christian to become, or continue to be, or to be more zealously than before, members of the associations of which the bishops were the head" (p. 30). He adds in a note, with references which well deserve, and indeed demand, the most careful consideration, that "this separation from the assembly and its officers went to the extent of having separate Eucharists," which Ignatius, in the passage referred to, seems rather to deprecate than to condemn.

Every Lecture deserves attentive study, and must be judged not according to our personal preference for the conclusions at which Mr. Hatch arrives but according to the force of the evidence he adduces. Indeed this

book deserves, and may perhaps hereafter receive, a more extended notice in these pages ; but it may safely be recommended as learned, fearless, reverent, and bearing directly upon the ecclesiastical questions of most permanent importance and of most immediate interest. It is a *historical* treatise ; and startling as some of its conclusions may be to some of those who take their theology and ecclesiastical polity at second or third hand, it is hoped by the author that it may do something to mitigate the ferocity of ecclesiastical controversy, and even to strengthen men's faith in the divine authority of that Church which has been built up on such wide foundations, and perfected by so manifold and far-reaching a wisdom.

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### **Boston Monday Lectures.\***

There is, unquestionably, an enormous reaction going on in New England, and especially in Boston and its vicinity, from Unitarianism and Rationalism. The career of Joseph Cook is one of the most remarkable evidences of this : but it is by no means the only one. In his preliminary lecture, which opens the volume, he gives us some strong assertions on the subject, a few of which we shall quote. Twenty or twenty-five years ago, Theodore Parker, the destructive, was, apparently, the leader of Boston progress. Of him Mr. Cook says : "He left no theological school behind him in Boston. Theodore Parker is now far less a power in Boston than he was ten years ago ; he was then far less a power than ten previously. He represents no extensive or permanent movement of thought." He goes on to say : "We have learned, in the United States, by our experience in heterodoxy, to judge it not so much by the men who make it, as by the men it makes. We have had noble men revolting from Puritanism ; we have had a Socinian secession from orthodoxy—Boston has been the centre of it ; but experience shows that the second generation of rationalistic negation, on the line of the Unitarian faith, usually becomes far more rationalistic than the

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\* Boston Monday Lectures, 1880-81. Christ and Modern Thought. With a Preliminary Lecture, on the Methods of meeting Modern Unbelief, by Joseph Cook, Boston. Robert Brothers, 1881. Price \$1.50.

first generation. The third generation of Socinian negation is usually rationalistic in the extreme, sometimes infidel. You drop from Channing to Theodore Parker, from Theodore Parker to Frothingham, from Frothingham to the incomprehensible and undescribable! You arrive, at last, at a state where lax teachers have no Gospel to preach; they become simply literary men, and in that way end their career as defeated propagandists of a fallen faith."

As to individuals, Mr. Cook thus speaks of Emerson: "Mr. Emerson, who began his career as more or less pantheistic, has of late been assisting his neighbor, Mr. Alcott, in conducting a summer school of philosophy at Concord, which teaches theism, and carries its doctrines almost up to the verge of Christianity . . . . Mr. Emerson lately said to Mr. Alcott, and the latter reported the words before fifty ladies and gentlemen in my parlor in Boston: "If you wish to call me a Christian theist, you have my authority to do so, and you must not leave out the word 'Christian,' for to leave that out is to leave out everything." A similar reaction is going on in Germany. Mr. Cook tells us: "In Germany . . . . we have seen the defeat of school after school of rationalistic speculation. It has been my fortune to examine the religious history of the European Universities very carefully, and I undertake to affirm that there are to-day in Germany only three universities that deserve to be called predominantly rationalistic in their theological department." He gives details and statistics through several pages. Perhaps the most striking are the following: "I found Dorner's, Müller's, and Tholuck's lecture-rooms crowded, and Shenkel's empty. There are, in 1880, but twenty-four German theological students at Heidelberg; and I have heard Shenkel often, and never saw more than nine, eight or seven students in his lecture-room. Counting both the native and the foreign theological students in these institutions, the whole number at rationalistic Heidelberg is twenty-four; at Evangelical Halle, three hundred and four; at Evangelical Berlin, two hundred and thirty; at Hyper Evangelical Leipzig, four hundred and thirty-seven." The sketch, too, of the gloomy state of things which greeted Tholuck on his first going to Halle, as contrasted with the glowing triumph that gladdened the close of his labors there, is very striking. The volume of Boston Monday Lectures, as a whole, illustrates this general return to modes of thought less remote from Old Catholic Faith of Christen-



dom. It is worthy of note that on the Executive Committee of these Monday Lectures, we find the names of our own Bishop of Massachusetts, and of Dr. Gray, the Dean of our Theological School at Cambridge. It is also worthy of note that while there are only ten lectures in the book, the first is by one of our Bishops, the Bishop of Rhode Island; and the last is by the Rev. Dr. John Cotton Smith. Who, twenty years ago, would have expected *this* in Boston? In this connection, we would allude to the fact, that in Cambridge there are *six* parishes of our Church, all doing well; while there is only *one* Unitarian Society, and that not very flourishing, even although it has had a Peabody for its pastor; and at the present time more than *two hundred* of the Undergraduates of Harvard are Churchmen; and the invitation to the vacant Chaplaincy of the University was lately extended to a distinguished Church clergyman, the Rev. Phillips Brooks. Nor should we forget, in this connection, the cordial invitation given by so many Boston ministers, of various denominations, last Autumn, to the Rev. Mr. Knox-Little to explain to them the true meaning of "Ritualism." Things *are moving*. And there is no doubt as to the direction which they are taking. We could find other evidences of it in the Lectures in this book, had we the space to consider them in detail. We can only touch upon Dr. Howard Crosby's splendid victory over the "bashibazouks" of Teetotalism, the Rev. Mr. Dike's unfolding of the horrors of American Divorces, and the Rev. Dr. Thomas' setting forth of the "Significance of the Historic Element in Scripture," as of peculiar value. The whole volume is well worth study, as a "sign of the times."

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#### Dr. Dix on the First Book of Edward VI.\*

These admirable lectures are most opportune just now. Dr. Dix is one of the most important members of the Committee of the General Convention on the subject of Liturgical Enrichment, and in these lectures he gives us a specimen of the sort of study and research which that

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\* Lectures on the First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. By Morgan Dix, S.T.D., Rector of Trinity Church, New York. New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co., Cooper Union, Fourth Avenue. 1881.

work imperatively demands. Whether the Committee succeeds in doing anything else, or not, one thing is certain, its appointment will most energetically stimulate *liturgical studies* amongst us; and this cannot but do great good to every one who takes part in it, as well as (unconsciously) to the Church at large.

Dr. Dix fearlessly maintains and proclaims that great truth, which has been upheld by so many of our soundest and most learned divines—the late Bishop of Vermont among the number—that the fullest and clearest expression of the English Reformation, pure and simple, is to be found in that First Book of King Edward VI. This, and this alone, is the *true* standard of the “Principles of the English Reformation,” of which some people talk so much *because* they know so little. The statement of the leading points of true Catholicity embodied in that Book; the history of the circumstances under which it was enacted by the joint authority of the Church and State; the graphic sketch of the violent and illegal action by which it was superseded; the successive revisions, *every one* of which has brought the Book nearer to its grand original; and the bearing it ought to have on the work of Liturgical Enrichment,—all these parts of the argument are handled with the utmost clearness and frankness, and in the pleasantest possible style.

There are one or two slight slips of the pen to which we would call the author's attention. On p. 57 we read: “When Henry the VIII. died, and Edward ascended the throne, Hooper returned to England. This was the year 1549, the same in which our Prayer-Book was set forth by Church and State as the one service book for the realm.” This is a mistake. Edward ascended the throne in 1547 not 1549. In another place, p. 91, speaking of our Colonial Clergy, Dr. Dix says: “So mixed up were their ideas of Church and State that to break their *implied* vow to the Crown,” &c. The vow to the Crown was not “*implied*” only. The oath of Allegiance is part of the Ordination Office in the Church of England Prayer-Book, and every one of those Colonial Clergy had taken it *expressly*, at the time of his ordination. But these are mere trifles. Dr. Dix's boldness and candor are above all praise, and we only hope that his lectures will be carefully studied by *all*, of every school, who take an interest in the most important work of Liturgical Enrichment.

**Liddon's Thoughts on Present Church Troubles.\***

Sermons by the greatest living English preacher require neither analysis nor criticism. But in the present slender volume, the *Preface* is the most notable feature, being a fearless onslaught against the present abominable courts in England, which profess to be Spiritual, and yet exist only by Act of Parliament. That they will not be submitted to is becoming clearer and clearer day by day. Priest after priest goes bravely to prison, and hundreds more are ready to do the same, sooner than allow spiritual validity to such secular things. And no one in high place has done better service than Canon Liddon in sounding the trumpet for the battle.

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\* Thoughts on Present Church Troubles, occurring in four Sermons preached in S. Paul's Cathedral, in December, 1880, with a Preface, by H. P. Liddon, D.D., Canon Residentiary of S. Paul's and Ireland Professor at Oxford. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1881. Price, \$0.90.

**Bishop Dudley's Bohlen Lectures.\***

This book is a very interesting sample of the drift that is carrying onward those who, a few years ago, were distinctively "Evangelicals," fresh from Alexandria. The lectures are written in a delightfully vigorous and clear style; and, with the popular and animated delivery of their author, must have been very pleasant to listen to. They are remarkable for four things. 1st. Their thorough acceptance—in words at least—of the Œcumenical Creeds and dogmatic definitions. 2d. Their wonderful haziness as to matters of doctrine outside of that line. The Bishop says: "The definitions of the false Athanasius (he means the Athanasian Creed), the Westminster Confession, the decrees of the Council of Trent, the Thirty-nine Articles, are all, it seems to me, the no less natural effort to express the traditional aspect of the eternal realities agreeably to the philosophic conception of the day, and in the language

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\*The Bohlen Lectures, 1881. "A Wise Discrimination The Church's Need." By Thomas Underwood Dudley, D.D., Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House, 1881.

of the different schools." This putting of the Athanasian Creed, the Westminster Confession, the Trent decrees, and the Thirty-nine Articles, all on the same level, would have made the Old Evangelicals turn pale with horror. Some of the fogginess is bestowed, most significantly upon the doctrine of the Atonement. The stress laid upon the preaching of the Personal Christ, is well enough. The third remarkable thing is, the recognition of the rights of what is commonly called Ritualism, in every thing except one point. The strongest Sacramental teaching of the Church is reiterated by the Bishop, with manly straight-forwardness. He says: "We need liturgical enrichment, for we need liturgical freedom, which is wealth." And again: "Ritual legislation, rubrical revision, I believe to be the crying need of the Church to-day; and I hail with thankful delight the appointment and the assembling of that Commission of learned men to whom this matter has, by the Church, been given in charge." He recognizes the lawfulness of the choral service, and of nearly every thing commonly called "Ritualism," even including the "mixed chalice" and "what are called the sacrificial vestments." As to these last he says: "If it please the priest or his people that he wear them, who shall object?—for *most assuredly we have no law to guide*, and the people—I mean the people who are not of us, but whom we are sent to win,—find just as little, and just as much, cause for wonder in the alb and chasuble, as in the surplice, and possibly a colored stole evokes their surprise no more than a black one." When it is remembered that these lectures were delivered only last February, in Philadelphia, by an Alexandria graduate, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, the words which we have italicized slash like a scimitar through the ridiculous and unconstitutional legislation of the Convention of Pennsylvania on Ritual two years ago,—a legislation so null and void that they have never dared to attempt to enforce it, and an Evangelical Bishop thus laughs it to scorn under their very eyes.

The *fourth* remarkable thing is the delicate sense of equilibrium shown in two special points of discrimination. The Bishop discriminates strongly in *favor* of theatrical amusements and dancing, which, in view of their attempted canonical legislation on these subjects, will make some of the more rigid Virginians gnash their teeth. But he makes up for it by discriminating *against* Eucharistic Adoration. So

long as he "slights" this, perhaps his advocacy of theatres and dancing will not be thought quite unpardonable. But his language here is as severe against the old disciplinary Canons of Virginia, as it was in the other place against Pennsylvania. He says: "I must here again express my satisfaction, that on the statute-book of the Church *are found no enactments against particular transgressions*, other than those plainly laid down in Holy Scripture, in the inculcation of principles rather than of precepts, in the effort to develop self-determining manhood rather than to essay the continuance of a childhood to be directed and guided at its every step." This affirms the nullity of the Virginia canons, and that to try to pass them is "to essay the continuance of childhood!" We could make many more extracts, of striking, racy, epigrammatic, or startling character; but what we have already said will, we trust, induce the thoughtful ones to read these lectures carefully as a remarkable "sign of the times."

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### Political Eloquence in Greece.\*

This work will be welcomed by scholars and students of literature. The ear of both classes is ever open to any one who can give additional knowledge of the character and work of the great orator, or who can open new sources of pleasure in retracing old and familiar paths of study. The author, M. Brédig, shows himself to be an enthusiast in the prosecution of this task, with an equipment of classic knowledge and an analytic faculty that insure satisfactory and profitable work. The method and treatment of the book are admirable and adapt it to the instruction of the school-room, as well as to the uses of the more mature student. The introductory chapter contains the gem of the whole, except that which is personal or biographical, giving an historical and philosophical presentation of the

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\* Demosthenes, with extracts from his orations, and a critical discussion of the "Trial of the Crown." By L. Brédig, Doctor in the Faculty of Letters, at Paris. Prof. at Toulouse, etc. Translated by M. J. Mac Mahon, A.M., large 8vo, pp. 510. Price, \$3.00. Chicago, S. C. Griggs & Co.

three ages of Athenian Eloquence. The explanation of its wonderful spontaneity and development he finds primarily in its physical surroundings and in the democratic institutions of Athens. He then passes its phases under a minute and critical review, designating its periods of difference by characteristics, viz.: First, In the time of Themistocles or Pericles it was almost exclusively oral and practical. Second, Was the period of the rhetoricians, when it was prostituted to the purposes of entertainment and of a showy culture, and, as a power in the service of patriotism, was disarmed by artificial ornament and refinement. Third, It reached its Zenith under Demosthenes and Æschines. Genius and patriotism found the most gifted and exalted exponent in the former. He combined the excellencies of the preceding periods, and by his logic, culture and pathos, brought the art of speaking to its climax of affiliated beauty and power.

The prolonged contest of Demosthenes with Philip, and with the politicians of his nation, is given in much detail, and in such lights and shadows as to fully vindicate his character as a conscientious patriot and statesman. The author warmly and successfully defends his desperate duel with Philip, and exposes with all the heat and finesse of an advocate, the duplicity and cowardice of the Athenian demagogues, the enemies alike of Athens and of Demosthenes.

The close of the book is devoted to an analysis of the elements of his eloquence, illustrated copiously by quotations and comparison. But we cannot summarize this analysis without destroying its relations and force. We generalize our endorsement of the work by saying that it is scholarly in its conception and treatment, and in the attainments of learning revealed. The analytical table of contents is a most valuable appendix, and will be of service even to the most careful reading.

The translator is to be commended for his fidelity to the text of his author. Perhaps if he had been less precise and literal, and had yielded more to his *own* idioms, the book would have lost some of its apparent stiffness of style. Abating the numberless digressions of the author himself, which beget a tedium sometimes; the texture of the book, as translated, is not sufficiently pliable. But notwithstanding its faults, which are few and small, it will amply repay close study.

**Victor Hugo: His Life and Works.\***

We might fairly call this book the adoration of Victor Hugo. The spirit of timid reverence with which the biographer approaches his solemn task, the kindling enthusiasm with which he continues and completes it, has in it, to any but a Frenchman, even a touch of the absurd. By way of prelude, he says: "Nothing that relates to Victor Hugo will be indifferent to us. We shall seek to illustrate the life and work of this incomparable author, who better than any other living author deserves to be called "master," since compared with him his literary contemporaries are but pupils. The greatest of his fellow authors bow before him; the leaders of the Romantic school call him their "King;" it might almost be affirmed, their "God." And the concluding sentence of the book is, "This nineteenth century, with all its wise men and all its triumphs, will have only one name for posterity. It will be called *The age of Victor Hugo*." The sensation of stupefying awe with which these votaries of the "Romantic school" which acknowledges him as its creator, stand before the actual presence of this Jupiter Tinans of letters, is thus naively told in the reminiscences of the sparkling Theophilus Gautier. It was on the occasion of his first presentation. "Twice we mounted the steps slowly as if our boots had leaden soles. Our breath stopped. We felt our hearts beating in our throats. Icy drops bathed our temples. When we stood before the door, just ready to pull the bell-knob, seized by a foolish terror, we turned on our heels and rushed down the steps, four at a time. A third attempt was more successful. Victor Hugo was then twenty-eight years of age. The first feature that impressed us was the monumental forehead which like an arch of white marble crowned the placid gravity of his face. It was really of superhuman beauty and amplitude. The greatest thought could be written here; crowns of gold or laurel might rest here as upon the brow of a god or a Cæsar. Light chestnut hair of considerable length enframed this brow. The smoothly shaven face had a peculiar pallor and was pierced and illumined by two brown eyes with pupils like those of an eagle. The mouth

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\* Victor Hugo: His Life and Works. From the French of Alfred Barbon. By Francis A. Shaw. pp. 207. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1881.

was firm and obstinate in outline with sinuous lips arched at the corners, which half opening for a smile, disclosed teeth of dazzling whiteness. We guard as a precious memento this portrait, handsome, youthful, smiling, beaming with genius and giving out as it were *phosphorescent rays of glory*." Comparing the photographic vignette of M. Barbon's book, which he declares to be an accurate likeness of Hugo at this period, with this pen-sketch of Gautier, we cannot but feel disposed to credit the latter with extraordinary powers of idealization.

Our readers will at once perceive that a true and critical estimate of the character and work of Victor Hugo is not to be obtained at the hands of such dazzled and abject worshippers. Their impatient enthusiasm will hardly wait for his apotheosis. Mr. Barbon has set all the facts of his career in this golden mist of incense. A sober estimate of human nature will not permit us to accept a being of such absolute perfection as he paints Victor Hugo. But making all necessary allowance for these extravagancies—impossible out of France—there is a sufficient basis of fact to justify us in regarding him as one of the first of living Frenchmen—perhaps we may even say, without the exaggeration which we deprecate, that he is the largest and most comprehensive type of the French genius and character which the race has produced. But the true and exact measure of this greatness, let us leave, as a matter beyond us, to that coming judgment of history—in the fires of whose crucible all that is unreal in the splendor of his fame, will be mercilessly evaporated.

The father of Victor Hugo was a veteran general of the first empire—a gallant soldier, but notable for nothing, so far as appears, but the patient sagacity with which he left his son's early and passionate Bourbonism to the quiet "cure of time." The mother was of another strain—a woman of a presence so majestic and of a will so forceful, as to stifle even the powerful individuality of her gifted boy—while under her maternal wing. Inheriting loyalty with her hot Vendean blood, she laid herself and her children alike on the altar of King worship. This fever of loyalty was the inspiration of Victor Hugo's childish muse.

"Now and then," says his biographer, "these early efforts contain superb lines and traces of a growing inspiration. These amiable stammerings prove to be all, in some sort, echoes of maternal affection. The mother—



a venerable muse—appears to dictate rhymes and thoughts.” The spirit of authorship from that time possessed him. While yet a schoolboy of fifteen, his portfolio was crammed with dramas, romances and lyric odes, and beyond the bounds of the academy, his name began to be whispered as that of a coming poet. With incredible rapidity his genius became full-fledged, and at an age when most youths are still at college, in all his essential characteristics as an author, he was the same Victor Hugo who has reigned for years in the literature of France.

To English-speaking people, he is best known as a writer of fiction. His first great work—“*The Hunchback of Nôtre Dame*”—reveals his genius for romance at the pinnacle of its power and forms a part of the standard literature of the world. In our own opinion it is the greatest of his novels. Rivalling in ingenious plot, in daring characterization—in profound pathos—in tragic situation—the best of his later romances—it is free from the labored extravagances of style, and the grotesque fancies by which, to any but a French taste, the latter are disfigured. This passion for morbid horrors—which is noticeable as a mere taint in the *Hunchback*—grew consciously or unconsciously upon Hugo until it culminated in the capability to conceive the obscene and revolting imaginations of “*The Man Who Laughs*,” some scenes in which—the “bath scene” for instance—are an offence to human nature. But in his deepest outrages upon pure taste, there is always a power that binds the reader like an enchanter’s spell, and if with indignant protest, he reads on to the “end.” The great fault of Victor Hugo’s romances, is their unreality in the midst of an assumed and pretentious realism. He endows his characters with such superhuman energies and passions, that we seem to move not in a world of men, but of Titans. The admirers of Balzac, who is a genuine realist and draws men, not melodramatic monsters, on this ground, may fairly contest Victor Hugo’s title to be the King of Romance. The dramas of Victor Hugo possess the same characteristics as his novels, and from their very excesses of powerful passion, are likely to continue to be monopolized by the French stage. But in his lyrical poetry, the genius of Hugo seems to have passed through some strange transformation. The affected, the stagy, the sensational, are dropped like the garments of a masquerade. Purity, simplicity, sweetness, alike of style and thought, appear

in their place. It is difficult to attribute to the same source "The Man Who Laughs" and the "Rose and the Tomb." The mind of Hugo is almost as many-sided as that of Goethe. Dramatist, romancer, lyric poet, he is also orator and artist. His eloquence is like the sweep of a river and the leap of the cataract. There is nothing in the record of parliamentary oratory grander than his heroic indictment of Louis Napoleon, while his imperial councils were yet wet with the blood of the *coup d'état*. His biographer, at least, sees in the illustrations which adorn Victor Hugo's home and illustrate his books, the elements of an artist of the first power. Perhaps the readers of Mr. Barbon will find the political phases of Hugo's life fullest of interest. It is marked by changes of political opinion sudden and surprising, but not unaccountable. Bourbonist—Bonapartist—Orleanist—in swift revolution, he is best known to this generation as the stern Republican exile who under the most terrible and protracted sufferings for his principles, never bated a breath of his fiery scorn for the Imperial usurper living, and embalmed him dead, in the "History of a Great Crime" in eternal infamy.

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#### Diocesan Histories. \*

These neat volumes, in their bright bindings of blue and gold, are a new departure in the history of our Mother Church. Local history always has its charms to the true student, being as indispensable to the formation of right views on a large scale, as the microscope is to the naturalist in summing up the general results of scientific research. In these volumes—and others are to follow, until the list of the Dioceses in England is completed—it must not be supposed that the rubbish of statistic details renders them only fit for occasional reference. By no means. But in one easy, flowing, continuous and inter-

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\* Diocesan Histories. Canterbury, by Robert C. Jenkins, M.A., with Map, pp. 428. Price, \$1.05. London: S.P.C.K. New York: Pott, Young & Co., 1880.

Diocesan Histories. Salisbury, by William Henry Jones, M.A., F.S.A., with Map, pp. 287. Price, \$0.75. London: S.P.C.K. New York: Pott, Young & Co., 1880.

esting narrative, the story of each Diocese is told, from its first foundation down to the present time, In tracing this continuous Diocesan life, the reader's conviction of the continuity of the Church is vastly stronger than it is apt to be when the history is given only as a whole. It is exceedingly instructive to follow the Diocesan life through those ages in which the want of a Reformation was increasingly felt: and to watch how all the needed changes were dovetailed into the regular working of a regular system, without a "solution of continuity" in any manner, in any thing. The subsequent troubles of the Great Rebellion, the Puritan Commonwealth, the Restoration, the Revolution, and the Catholic Revival in our own day,—all these give additional life and interest to these exceedingly valuable pages. We shall welcome the rest of the series with great pleasure, and expect to learn something from every successive volume.

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### **The National Church of England.\***

This handy manual gives, in most convenient form, a vast mass of information concerning the dear old Mother Church of England. It is arranged, like Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome*, in brief separate sections, each with a heading in heavy-faced letter, so as the more easily to catch the eye. Its views as to the union between Church and State are not in all respects such as it is necessary that an American Churchman should accept. But in all that is said as to the origin of the Church's property, including tithes, and the iniquity of such a thing as disendowment, the book will open the eyes of many readers in America. Take for instance this one paragraph concerning the most unpopular and (as is commonly supposed) the most unjust part of the Church's heritage,—*tithes*:

Tithes were not created by Act of Parliament. They were payable, and were paid, to the Church, long before Parliament existed, or before anything answering to its constitution was even in embryotic being. The payment of tithes is of more ancient date than the Crown of England, the Constitution of England, or the Parliament of England. No

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\* The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church. New, Revised and Enlarged Edition. pp. 211. Price, \$0.60. ●London: S.P.C.K. New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co.

State document, however ancient, can be produced, which being put into Court as evidence, could prove that the State or Realm of England *created* the tithes. . . . The title of an incumbent of a parish to his tithes is the most ancient, indisputable, and indefeasible of any title to property known to the law.

So also with regard to the other endowments of the Church, which are commonly supposed to have come from Parliament. They are known to be almost entirely the gifts of individuals in ages past, and it is shown how nobly the same work is going on in the same way at the present time. It is impossible, within our limits, to specify the great variety of points in which this little work furnishes most useful information; but one fact deserves special mention. The income of endowments given *before* the Reformation is £1,950,000. The income of endowments given *since* the Reformation is *larger*, namely, £2,250,000. And the *voluntary* offerings *besides*, amount to about £5,500,000 every year: which is more than *both* the others put together! There is no danger of *that* Church suffering much from any possible Disendowment! No one can rise from the perusal of this work, without a clearer conception than before of what the National Church of England is, and how it has been the spirit, and core, and life, and essence, of England's Nationality, even from those times when the Saxon Kingdoms in England were many, while her Church was *one*.

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### The Bishop of Lincoln's "Church History."\*

When a writer of such great experience and such profound learning as the present Bishop of Lincoln publishes anything, the sound Churchman knows at once that it is worth reading. His more purely classical works, his established reputation as one of the best writers of Latin and Greek now living, his skill as a poet in these languages as well as in his own, his circle of dogmatic instruction as furnished in his *Theophilus Anglicanus*, his Commentary on the whole Bible,—the best that we have in English from the labor of one man,—his patristic studies especially as connected with the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, and

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\* A Church History to the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325; by Charles Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. pp. 481. Price, \$2.25. London: Rivingtons, 1881.

very many lesser works, all attest the high position held by him among the most learned divines of the Church of England. In once more working over the well-worn field of Church History down to, and including, the Council of Nicæa, we expect, naturally, to see displayed a breadth, depth, and thoroughness, not easily found elsewhere to the same degree. And we shall not be disappointed. The distinctive doctrines of the Church herself, as an organic body, are brought out with singular clearness and power. The book is indeed a complete manual of Church principles; and its perusal and careful study will fortify the mind effectually against the modernisms of Rome on the one hand, and the still later modernisms of Protestant sectarianism on the other. The full sacramental teaching of the Church is witnessed to, with candid fearlessness. The peculiarities of the various heresies and schisms are given with theological accuracy, and are entirely free from German haze. The symmetrical perfection of the settling of dogmatic truth is chronicled with beautiful precision, and enriched with quotations of critical phrases both from the errorists themselves and from their chief opponents among the Fathers of the Church. In a work by such a master, it is not to be expected that American critics shall be able to pick flaws. Yet we would call attention to a mere typographical error in the note to page six, where the mystic one hundred and forty-four thousand is said to be "the square of twelve multiplied by one hundred," whereas this last numeral should be one thousand.

The theological equilibrium of this History is, perhaps, the chief among its many merits. It is written with a full consciousness in the mind of the writer of all the great features of the subsequent history of the Church; and the true importance of things is thus shown, by their connection with actual subsequent developments. This is the true way to distinguish the vital in history, from that which may rather be termed the incidental. One of the most scientific instances of this, is the analysis of the action of the Council of Nicæa, which *demonstrates* the falsity both of the modern Roman theory, and also of that of the Protestant Sects. This work will manifestly, at once, take its place among our permanent Church Classics. Its moderate size and pleasant type make it very desirable, and its readable style will render it doubly attractive to all who honestly desire information.

**Sinai.\***

Major Palmer's book condenses into one readable volume, and in very readable style, the substance of what is at present known of the Sinaitic Peninsula. It includes an account of the physical character of the whole region, and that of its present inhabitants; and gives also its past history, so far as it is yet known. Several systematic explorations of that most remarkable region have been made in our own day, especially one in 1868, the results of which were published in 1872, in five massive folio volumes, three of which were filled with photographs, and one with maps and plans. Some portions of the ancient history, concerning the mining works of the Egyptians, and the stone dwellings, stone circles, archaic sculptures, and especially the famous rock inscriptions, are peculiarly interesting. The critical account of the Exodus, taking note of all the leading modern theories, down to that of Brugsch Bey in 1874, occupies the closing chapter,—the most important of the whole. A map and woodcuts add to the value of this volume, which would be suitable for all Sunday School and Parish Libraries.

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\* Ancient History from the Monuments. SINAI, from the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty to the present Day. By Henry Spencer Palmer, Major Royal Engineers, F.R.S.A. London: S.P.C.K. New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co. pp. 216. Price, \$0.60.

**Turkish Life in War Time.\***

Well had it been for the literary and financial interests of Mr. Dwight if his book had been published at the eventful time when the eyes of the whole nation were turned toward the great war between the Russian and the Turk. Bound to the Old World by the subtle ties of a common civilization, it was not in the nature of things for America to look on as a cool spectator upon a struggle, in which the dearest interests of so many oppressed Christian nationalities were at stake, and which might, in a moment, engulf all Christendom in a vortex of universal war. But it was equally in the nature of things that a reaction

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\* Turkish Life in War Time, by Henry T. Dwight. pp. 428. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner & Son. 1881.

from this state of tense interest should be inevitable, and that with the close of the contest by the victorious arms of Russia, in the engrossing consideration of our own affairs of state, the great Turkish question should gradually fade out of sight. Turkey has become but an unmeaning word in an occasional and brief trans-oceanic telegram. But if anything could transport us back to the days when we hung in breathless interest over the news of battle, and make us live them over again in memory, it would be this little book of Mr. Dwight's. Constantinople was the very brain and heart of Turkey during the war. There all the lines of European diplomacy centered—there sat the grand council of state, the Porte, in whose hands the Sultan himself seems to be but a splendid puppet, and who virtually exercised supreme control over the civil and religious functions of the government. Beneath, the vast populace of the capital were in a chronic state of almost hysterical excitement. With the varying fortunes of the war, hope, fear, suspense, distrust, despair, moved the mighty multitude as the winds move the sea. In all this strange life of the capital, Mr. Dwight was an actual participator. With personal and diplomatic interests at stake—in constant intercourse with foreign and native statesmen—one in the mighty masses which daily crowded the streets to hear and discuss every passing rumor of the policy of the government and the conduct of the war, he daily transferred the shifting scene, while the impression was warm and vivid, to his note-book. The result, in a literary point of view, was most happy. These rapid and lively jottings of feelings and observation, drawn directly from actual life, furnish more fascinating, if not more profitable reading than could the most elaborate and scholarly work of the historian—than the most telling essay of Mr. Freeman when he smites luckless Turkey with his inexorable logic of facts as with the hammer of Thor—or the cleverest diagnosis of the sick man's fatal symptoms by the "Eastern Statesman" or the *Contemporary Review*—because every page palpitates with the living sympathy of an actor in the scene.

A selection or two, taken at random, will give our readers, at least the flavor of the contents of Mr. Dwight's note-book. Constantinople has just received the news of the Russian repulse before Plevna. "September 19. Sunday, shortly after midnight, I was awakened by a noise which was not quite a din, and yet which dominated all

other sounds. This was the combined noise of hundreds of bass drums, beaten with might and main in the streets of all Constantinople, in honor of the new repulse of the Russians from Plevna. The myriads of lamps hung on the minarets, as is usual in the Romazan, and which had been allowed to burn out, were now restored to their pristine brilliance. The streets, the squares, the coffee-shops were full of people, discussing, with the utmost enthusiasm, the bulletins just published by the war office. On every lip was the word, 'It is God's judgment on the proud!' The night was dark, and as I looked off from my hill upon the great city, partly hidden by a white mist, which filled the harbor and covered the valley, I could see none of the deeper shadows, but only the lights on the minarets, which seemed to float in mid-air above the sea of mist. Between the minarets, lamps were so hung that they formed Arabic words. High over the dome of the mosque of Suleiman the magnificent, you could read in letters of trembling light, 'Mahomet, sent of God,' and far around to the right was written on the sky, in letters of gold, 'Allah Ekber,' the old war cry of the armies of the prophet. In the minds of the surging crowds of Moslems which filled the streets, the whole arch of heaven was transformed into the dome of a vast cathedral—its base inscribed in letters of fire, with the phrases dear to the hearts of the faithful; and one could not doubt that this cathedral magnificence, thrilled the hearts of the joyous multitude below as they gazed upon the evidence of the glory of Islam, in the legends written on the sky."

December 21st. "So long as Plevna held out even the most desponding of the people had lingering hopes, that in some way the tide of war would be turned back. Since the surrender, however, every spark of hope has died out. I never saw such despair and helplessness as that which now exhibits itself among the mass of the people. The people curse their ruler and their generals, and are ready to sink into lethargy in the belief that, in the event of the last three months, they may see the foreshadowing of what is fatal in the future." We have no space for more. Unfortunately the best things in the book are too long for quotation. But, after all, the most interesting part of Mr. Dwight's volume is the discussion in the final chapter of Turkey's probable destiny. By this time he has gained the full confidence of his reader in his powers as an acute observer of men and things, a sagacious critic of politics



and diplomacy—and in regard to every phase of the Turkish question, is established as a high authority. Upon the probability of a resuscitation of Turkey by her own unaided energies and internal reforms to a true and enduring—we may say endurable—national life, his opinion is a most clear and emphatic negative. He fully coincides with Mr. Freeman, in the belief that the case of Turkey, left to herself, is beyond hope. Having probed with his keen analysis every separate plague spot in the body corporate of the dying Turk, he thus powerfully summarizes his detailed investigation of the case: "This book has been written in vain, if it has not brought home to the reader a deep sense of the complications which surround every undertaking to produce a solid reconstruction of Turkey. The jealousies of European powers—the selfish greed and incompetence of the Turkish officials, crying aloud for the destruction of the Sultan's power—the interests of the Christians of Turkey demanding protection from Europe—the religious bigotry of the Moslems opposing that protection—the ignorance of all classes, unfitting the whole nation to co-operate in measures of relief—the intricate mixture of various races, preventing separate treatment of them—the race hates any ambitions found among the people of Turkey, defeating attempts to deal with them as a whole, are serious obstacles to the restoration of peace and prosperity among this people." In a word, Mr. Dwight seems to consider reconstruction from without only less hopeless than self-reconstruction. He suggests the only possible solution of the case in a protectorate composed of all the European powers, but takes care to show how little faith he has in the plan proposed. In truth, Mr. Dwight can only be a prophet of woe to the Turk. He expresses a doubt even of the possibility of the establishment of a Turkish empire in Asia Minor, if cast out of Europe. The same fatal causes would surround her there and precipitate her down.

#### **Men Before Adam.\***

Of late years, Adam has been very much in the way of explorers into the remote and prehistoric past. There

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\* Preadamites, or a Demonstration of the Existence of men before Adam; together with a study of their condition, antiquity, racial affinities, and progressive dispersion over the earth. With charts and other illustrations. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D., etc., etc. pp. 500. Price, \$3.50. Chicago: S. C., Griggs & Co.

could be no elbow room because of him, and, all the while, the evidences seemed to be multiplying, even to the unscientific mind, that the sweep of time must have extended many ages behind the period in which he is said to have appeared on the planet. Archbishop Ussher had fixed the precise date of the creation, and the Authorized Version had adopted it in its margin. Thus we read it to this day, "Before Christ, 4004." The translators knew all about it, and so, therefore, does the public. The lone figure stops the popular vision beyond that year. Here is the chronological *Ultima Thule*. To make it worse for the explorers, this period is still further abridged by the same authority. A universal Deluge submerged the earth exactly 1656 years afterward, that is to say, "Before Christ 2348," leaving Noah as the sole progenitor of the present human race. Within this space of a little more than four thousand years, the present diversified population of the globe, amounting, say, to fifteen hundred millions, must account for itself. These are its conventional and orthodox limits. Such is the established theory.

On the face of it this space would seem all too small for such a mass of convoluted beings to turn round in ; for its convolutions were not the simple ones of individual lives or of national development, but of racial divergencies, physiologically so wide apart, so radical and so complex, as now when fully realized, to burst the theory asunder. The next Authorized Version of the Old Testament will, doubtless, find it advisable to lift away this marginal horizon of all past time, and leave it to dissolve into extra-visual space, like the natural one, instead of resting, as before, on the boundaries of the literal eyesight. For nothing is more uncertain than the chronology of the Bible after a given point has been reached. Let any one satisfy himself of that by looking over the tables of the chronologists, where he will find scores of varying computations based on the same Biblical data. He will have his choice of the creative era from Bunsius, 20,000 B. C., down through any number of gradations to Rabbi Lipman's, 3606 B. C. "Biblical chronology is uncertain," says Abbe Le Hir, "it is left to human science to discover the date of the creation of our species." It is all "uncertain before Abraham," says Prichard. "There is no connected chronology prior to Solomon," says Bunsen. "There is no Biblical chronology," says Sylvester de Lacy. "It must be quite apparent," sums up Dr. Winchell, "that Revelation has not revealed the age of the world."

It is a realm of conjecture, of no theological moment, or it would not have been left so; but, with respect to science, an important field of exploration and discovery, as it was doubtless intended to be, Adam and Noah remain, but Archbishop Ussher does not. As to his myriad brethren in the same line they are equally unsuccessful, if not ephemeral candidates for the honor of discovering the hour when the star of Adam appeared.

It is interesting to know what science will discover, and to what point its explorations will converge. There is reason to think that its system of anthropology, now to be formed under the freedom of this condition of things, will come to a result as modifying and enlarging to our Biblical interpretation, as its system of cosmology has already been.

Dr. Winchell's book is an earnest and reverent contribution to this inquiry. No one who reads it can fail to recognize his honesty, his candor, his judicial fairness, the thoroughness with which he has conducted his investigation, and the sincerity with which he has reached and now advocates his conclusions. He has endeavored, moreover, to make his work a popular one, so far as he could do so without yielding up too much of its necessary scientific character. His style is massive and vigorous, often mounting into beauty and eloquence, though, at times, his earnestness in maintaining an adequate precision and gravity of statement leads him into a ponderousness of diction, not easy to the reader, though evidently the natural gait of a writer, who so profoundly takes his subject to heart. The work is worth reading and worth owning. Aside from its theory, it is full of valuable facts, well marshaled, considering the difficulty of the theme, for the end he has in view.

Dr. Winchell's investigations do not disturb the historical Adam. He is also content to let him have any chronology which the reader prefers. Nor does he question Noah, except as to the universality of the Deluge, and therefore, his traditional claim to be the one transmitting line of the race. The received account of the dispersion of descendants remains also untouched. On the contrary, it is adopted. The whole period of the Pentateuch, as written from the standing-point of Israel, he does not attempt to traverse. Indeed it will relieve the reader to know that he incorporates it into his argument, though careful to make a distinction between the original and the

translation. The latter, he very truly says, could not but reflect the unscientific position of the era in which it was made. It read the Hebrew according to its light.

The field he opens is the profoundly interesting one of a great conjectural period of time behind Adam, and a great necessary space of territory on either side of Noah, which were filled with races of men who have now their descendants over all the earth : the races Black and Brown, so well known to us under the names (the Black) of Negro, Hottentot, Papuan, Australian, and (the Brown) Mongolian and Dravidian. These go back, possibly one hundred thousand years into primitive forms of humanity so low in the scale that no vestige of them remains at present on the earth, though he points out some curious examples, in secluded districts, of communities of human beings who might be surviving specimens of such. The White, or Mediterranean race, is the only Adamic race, rising later, very probably within the average period fixed upon by chronologists. It is with this that the record of the Bible begins. It is with the Divine and progressive career of this that the Bible is engaged. And this, the White race, Dr. Winchell believes, is of "one blood" with all the rest, coming down, alike with them, from an original and central stock. So Adam was not the "*first* man."

There are enough facts abroad to start the theory and to justify the inquiry. Indeed the Bible itself, at the very outset of its record, seems to show a tacit consciousness of the existence of another race. There have always been the curious questions : Whom did Cain fear when he went out a fugitive and a vagabond? Why was a mark set upon him? Whom did he marry? etc., etc. As long ago as 1655 the priest Peyrerius, in addition to these considerations, founded a theory of Preadamitism on the 12th, 13th and 14th verses of the Vth chapter of S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The same theory has been repeatedly revived in recent days ; notably in the work "The Genesis of the Earth and Man," introduced and endorsed by Reginald Stuart Poole ; and more lately, in "Adam and the Adamite," by Dr. McCansland. These works argue the question also on Scientific and Secular grounds. Under these leaders the inquiry has entered the whole field as it now lies open, and Dr. Winchell's book presented it to us in the more thorough form it has now assumed. His argument is based on the intimations of the Bible ; on the limited extent of the noachite dispersion ; on the vast

diversification of races now existing; on the great inferiority of some of these races to the Mediterranean race; on the fact that a complete differentiation of races existed in the early dynastic periods of Egypt; on the want of time since Adam or Noah, as chronologically placed, for this to take place; on the fact that the Hamitic origin of the Negroes is opposed to the Bible itself; and, finally, on the fact that the supposition of universal degeneracy of all human races is scientifically inadmissible. He also endeavors to show that "the doctrine of Preadamitism is entirely consonant with all the fundamental principles of Biblical Christianity."

The remaining half of the work is devoted to an interesting study of these preadamite races as present existing, "their condition, antiquity, and racial affinities and progressive dispersion over the Earth."

The book is interestingly illustrated, and its mechanical execution is in elegance and beauty exceedingly creditable to its publishers.

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### **Stones Crying Out.\***

This is a reissue of a compilation, for many years before the public. It has received a new Introduction, and much is added of the later discoveries in the East. The style is popular and quite interesting, the illustrations are numerous, the tone of the book—while here and there are expressions not so Churchlike—is reverent, and full of faith in the Divine authority of Holy Scripture. There are graphic sketches of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, of the Samaritans and their ancient copy of the Pentateuch, of Egypt, Arabia, the Exodus, Niveveh, and Persia. The Moabite Stone and the Chaldean account of the Deluge are included. It is not a profound work, but forms a very useful and interesting compilation for the ordinary reader,

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\* *Stones Crying Out, and Rock-Witness to the Narratives of the Bible concerning the Times of the Jews.* With a new Introduction, and the Moabite Stone included. The Evidence of the last twenty years, collected by L. N. R., Author of "The Book and its Story" and "The Missing Link." Fourth Edition, Fifteenth Thousand. Nearly 100 Illustrations. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1881.

**Mozarabic Collects.\***

This slender and neatly-printed volume is interesting and useful in itself; but its importance is greatly enhanced by two points prominently brought forward in the Preface written by the Bishop of Western New York. One is, the hope expressed by him that the Commission on Liturgical enrichment may here find some materials for their proposed work. The other—far more suggestive—is the information that Dr. Hale “has compiled an admirable Office for the Holy Eucharist; and a Baptismal Office, also, from such [Mozarabic] materials.” Bishop Coxe adds: “I trust they may soon see the light, with an introductory *Excursus* and with the *Notes* with which he is so capable of enriching the work. The COLLECTS herewith presented are a mere specimen of their editor’s entire work, but they are not an inconsiderable portion of it, and they may, by God’s blessing, awaken attention to the subject, and thus promote his ultimate desires and purposes, with which I sympathize ardently; not only because of my respect for him, but rather because of the importance of the subject to Catholic Reconstruction and Reform in Mexico and elsewhere.” By all means, if there is any prospect of such a Liturgy being adopted in Mexico, let it see the light, and the sooner the better, with *full proof of the adoption of it by the Mexicans*.

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\* Mozarabic Collects, translated and arranged from the ancient Liturgy of the Spanish Church, by the Rev. Chas. R. Hale, S. T. D. With a Preface, by the Rt. Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, D.D., Bishop of Western New York. 12mo. pp. 80. Price, \$0.75. New York: James Pott, 1881.

**Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans.\***

The volume before us contains a short autobiography of the author and a history of wonderful archaic discovery on a field which will now generally be believed to be the site of ancient Troy. The biography forms a necessary and pleasant introduction to the main subject. It is interesting to read of success, and here is the history of a remark-

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\* Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans. By Dr. Henry Schliemann. pp. 800. Price, \$12.00. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881.

ably successful business man, and a persevering, conquering student. From the condition of a poor boy, by zealous attention to mercantile pursuits he amassed an ample fortune. By habits of application to study, prosecuted with youthful ardor in poverty and almost distress, which habits were persevered in when opulent ease and matured years came, he has made for himself a name among scholars. His linguistic acquirements are such that he could probably have written the handsome volume before us in his native German, in French, in Latin, in Greek, modern or ancient, or perhaps Russian, as well as he has done it in English. Prosperous in business, having attained a ripe knowledge, Dr. Schlieman, in the full tide of his manhood, devoted the resources of his fortune and his linguistic acquirements to the achievement of a purpose formed in childhood. This purpose was the exhumation of buried Troy. And, although the proofs do not amount to demonstration, it is probable that the consenting voices of a majority of lovers of archaic lore and Homeric literature will unite in pronouncing him to have achieved here also a grand success—will unite in decreeing for him an apotheosis, and he henceforth shall take his seat among the immortals.

When the youthful reader first begins to wander in the fields of ancient Grecian History, the page there most striking to his fancy is the tale of the abduction of Helen, the rousing of the Greek States to vengeance, and the whole story of the siege and fall of Troy. But he learns in after years that a school of Nihilist critics arose about two hundred years ago, who, assuming, unwarrantably, that alphabetic writing was unknown in the age of Homer; that because the site of Troy is, or rather *was*, unknown, therefore Troy never was; that because the Iliad is a poem too long to be recited in a body at the festivals, and was recited in parts perhaps by Homer himself and his disciples, the Homeridae after him; therefore it is a poem by many authors, and Troy *never was* Homer or Homeric legends, having no foundation in fact; in short, that what has always been praised as the first and grandest epic is an aggregation of legends—a machine poem made to order at the command of Pisistratus, who thus mechanically produced a grand unity, just as the father of the Epicurean philosophy taught that all the beautiful order of the universe was the result of a fortuitous concurrence of atoms. This odious doctrine of the Nihilists was

repulsive to the youthful Schlieman. He never bowed to the dicta of these Iconoclasts of Homeric literature. He believed in the personality of Homer, his individual authorship of the *Iliad* and the existence of Ilium. Witness his words. "Though my father was neither an archæologist nor a scholar, he had a passion for ancient history. He often told me with warm enthusiasm of the tragic fate of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and seemed to consider him the luckiest of men, who had the means and time to visit the excavations that were going on there. He also related to me with admiration the great deeds of the Homeric heroes, and the events of the Trojan war, always finding in me a warm defender of the Trojan cause. With great grief, I heard from him that Troy had been so completely destroyed that it had disappeared without leaving any trace of its existence. My joy may be imagined, therefore, when, being nearly eight years old, I received, as a present from him in 1829, as a Christmas gift, Dr. George Ludwig Jerrer's *Universal History*, with an engraving representing Troy in flames, with its huge walls and the Scæan gates from which Æneas is escaping, carrying his father, Anchises, on his back, and holding his son Ascanius, by the hand; and I cried out, 'Father, you were mistaken; Jerrer must have seen Troy, otherwise he could not have represented it here.' 'My son,' he replied, 'that is merely a fanciful picture.' But to my question, whether Troy had such huge walls as those depicted in the book, he answered in the affirmative. 'Father,' retorted I, 'if such walls once existed, they cannot possibly have been destroyed; vast ruins of them must yet remain, but they are hidden away beneath the dust of ages.' He maintained the contrary, whilst I remained firm in my opinion, and at last we both agreed that I should one day excavate Troy!

"What weighs on our heart, be it joy or sorrow, always finds utterance from our lips, especially in childhood; and it so happened that I talked of nothing else to my playfellows but of Troy. I was continually laughed at by every one, except two young girls, Louise and Minna Meincke, the former of whom was my senior by six years, the latter of my own age. It was agreed between us that as soon as we were grown up we would marry and at once set to work to explore Troy. Thanks to God, my firm belief in the existence of that Troy has never forsaken me amid all the vicissitudes of my eventful career; but it was not destined for me till in the autumn of my life, and then without



Minna, nay far from her, to realize our sweet dreams of fifty years ago !”

How extensive Dr. Schlieiman's explorations of the Troad have been, may be seen, from the fact that his work has been continued, with slight interruptions, from 1868 till the present time. He has employed as many as one hundred and sixty workmen a day, at a cost of about thirty-six cents for common day labor, and his whole daily expenditure was at times about eighty dollars per day. That the laborers of the Troad are not very particular about lodgings, may be seen from the circumstance that two of his men used to sleep in a large vase, about six feet long and four feet wide, dug out of the ruins and laid sidewise. Thus they slept in the jar that may have contained the wheat or the wine of Priam, for such was probably the use of these vases; in the burnt city, carbonized wheat was found in one of these earthen garner. The people of the Troad in that old time were not only agricultural, but drew largely from the sea for their subsistence, and the interesting archæological inquiry, “who ate the first oyster,” must be relegated to a period anterior to the destruction of Troy; for there is positive evidence that the mollusc was used by the inhabitants of those old cities. And this fact may help to the solution of a difficulty which may suggest itself to readers. How could a country so small as the Troad have maintained a population so large that the Greek States collected an army of one hundred thousand men, conveyed in one thousand one hundred and eighty-four ships for its subjugation. They were a maritime as well as agricultural people. In our day, in the Island of Newfoundland, a population of one hundred and nineteen thousand people obtain their subsistence directly or indirectly from the sea, without any products of agriculture except those received in trade, which are paid for out of the harvests reaped from the sea.

Before making the pick and shovel survey of Troy, Dr. Schlieman was confronted with the preliminary question, Where shall I begin to dig? A large proportion of those wishing to seek for the site of Troy would have been inclined to do so at a spot called Bournarbashi, eight miles from the shores of the Sigeuin and Rhœteum promontories, but as the Greek armies could not have marched and countermarched that space more than once in a day, as they are described as doing in the Iliad, it has been suggested by the supporters of that theory that a gulf or

bay extending between Sigeuin and the Rhæteum, more than three miles up into the Troad, once existed, which has since been filled up by alluvium. But Prof. Virchow and others have come to the conclusion that that theory must be abandoned, and that the features of the country of the Troad and the Trojan plain are essentially what they were in the days of Priam, only that the Scamander has changed its bed more than a mile westward for several miles of its course, and empties into the Hellespont nearer the Sigeuin promontory than formerly; and that the Simois is diminished in volume and loses itself in swamps, from which cranes still rise "clangingly," as they did in the days of Homer. Dr. Schleiman first excavated at Bournarbashi, but, as he tells us, with negative results. That is, he found only a small amount of debris, before he reached the undisturbed virgin soil—far less accumulation than would have resulted from the destruction of a city. He then went to the hill Hissarlik, only three miles from the shore, a natural site for an acropolis, a spot pointed out with assurance by a Scotch traveller—McLaren—fifty years ago, and a site which corresponds best with most points given in the Iliad. And here, just as the geologist "drills and bores the solid earth, and from the data there extracts a register," his data being the buried remains of ancient animal and vegetable life, so Dr. Schleiman made a cut wide enough for a railroad, and sixty feet deep, in the hill of Hissarlik, through ancient walls and crumbling ruins and debris of houses containing implements and relicts of peace and war, and jewels of amazing richness and beauty, and thus has extracted a register, which shows it to be tolerably certain, that on the hill of Hissarlik have existed and been overwhelmed in ruin seven distinct cities. One of these, the third from the bottom, called the burnt city, was destroyed, as appears from layers of ashes and vitrified remains, by a disastrous conflagration like that which must have taken place at the sack of Troy, when the destruction was so sudden and overwhelming that the princely owners could neither remove their riches nor the conquerors recover all of them from the hot crumbling ruins. This third, or burnt city will be regarded by most readers as the Homeric Troy.

A question presents itself to the mind of the reader, How could the destruction of even seven cities have accumulated an amount of debris 66 feet thick, and how could Troy and the Troad have contained a population so large

that an army of invasion 100,000 strong was judged necessary for its subjugation? The Trojan peninsula, if we may so call it, was a part of the ethnological bridge from Asia to Europe, and just as its shores at times resounded with the tread of those enormous armies from Asia to Europe and in turn from Europe to Asia; so perhaps in times of peace, for ages the Troad was the path of trade between the continents, and thus, in addition to agriculture and the harvests of the sea, it had probably the advantage of an extensive overland commerce. In regard to the density of population at Troy, Dr. Schlieman thinks the houses were built of brick on a first story of stone and may have been five and six stories high. The lower one was of stone, without doors or windows, and was used as a store-room; and the living rooms were in the stories above, and these were provided with terraces. Now we ask the favor of the reader to compare the houses of Troy with those of an existing aboriginal civilization in America. The Pueblos are certain semi-civilized Indians within the limits of New Mexico, so called by the Spaniards because they live in pueblos or villages. The Pueblo Indians cultivate the soil, raising generally maize, wheat and other cereals, vegetables, fruit and cotton. They raise herds of cattle, mules, horses, goats and sheep, and spin and weave cotton and wool, and make heavy blankets, sometimes of a superior texture. They also make a superior kind of pottery, ornamented with geometric figures. They live invariably in commonwealths and towns. Their houses are sometimes built of stone laid in mortar, but more generally of sundried bricks, called adobes, the common building material in Northern Mexico. They are generally large, of several stories, and contain many families. In some of these huge structures the whole community, amounting to from three hundred to seven hundred souls, is domiciled. The houses are sometimes built in the form of a hollow square, at other times are constructed on the brow of a high cliff or mountain terrace (acropolis) difficult of approach. The first or lower story is invariably without doors or windows or other openings, entrance to the houses being effected by ladders, each upper story recedes a few feet from that below it, leaving a terrace or walk around, or along the whole building, from which ladders lead to those above. The upper stories have doors and windows, but no stairways. In most instances a single family occupies one apartment, and as its number increases another room is added, when there is

sufficient space, one is built above and reached by a ladder. In this way these buildings are reared sometimes five or six stories in height. This mode was practised by these Indians three centuries ago, when the country was first visited by the Spaniards. The civilization which belongs to the Pueblo Indians was not introduced among them by Europeans. They practised agriculture and the art of spinning and weaving, as well as the manufacture of pottery, when first visited by the Spaniards in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Dr. Schlieman and Prof. Virchow have given us their idea of the houses of the ancient Trojans, and of the present inhabitants of the Troad, and from the above description of the houses of the Pueblo Indians, do they not appear to bear a remarkable similarity to those of the Trojans? Is not the Pueblo idea of a house derived from the pyramid—the most substantial of structures, and may not these truncated terraces in the sides of their pyramidal houses be an exceedingly convenient form of dwelling for defense, for air and light, and coolness in a warm climate, and suited to a dense population? And may not the dwellers in pyramidal-shaped houses be connected with the great monumental pyramid builders of the world? Now, let one of these six story brick buildings, large enough to hold three hundred inmates, go to ruin, and that seven times over, and may we not have an amount of debris large as that accumulated at Troy?

The book is rich in classic lore and well repays careful reading even although no fixed conclusion may be reached touching the site of ancient Ilios. This, however, will be an individual judgment for each reader to form for himself. The millennial, among critics, will be approximated when a consentaneous decision of a majority can be attained on a controverted question of archæology whether it pertain to philology, history, topography, geography, or ethnology. The rule of divergence and heated antagonism seems yet to prevail. But this war of the erudite should not blind or distort the optics, or cloud the reason of the honest scholar or even dilettante student with the ample proofs, the result of wearisome, protracted and conscientious toil, such as Dr. Schlieman has afforded him. We think that no unbiased judge, with sufficient classic attainments and Æsthetic culture to constitute him a judge, can help granting the award to the Doctor as he unconsciously, during the stages of his work and more particularly at the

termination of his titanic exhumations, exclaimed "*Eureka*."

The book itself is confirmatory of the honesty of the man and his work. His simplicity and fidelity in the detailed narrative of his five years of consuming toil, putting his labors in such form as to provoke admiration and yet defy denial, are the witness as well of his integrity as of his deathless enthusiasm. But as if forecasting the opposition of a jealous fraternity he fortifies himself by bringing classical and historical authority to his aid in maintaining the identity of Hissarlik with ancient Troy. He gives ample Homeric quotations showing the correspondence of the ancient and modern descriptions of what *was* and *is* Troy. Here the classic scholar has the comparison of proofs for his own manipulation. Hence whatever of abatement may be deemed necessary by reason of alleged fanatical *one-ideaism* yet the names of such men as Virchow, Müller, Mahaffy and Prof. Brugsch-Bey, by way of indorsement, more than supplement the loss. The one idea men are typical characters. From Paul to Napoleon, in whatever department of thought or action, in all enterprise, whether private or public, they are the successful ones, they are conquerors, they live in history.

What the illustrations of a book are to its text, such we firmly believe have the explanations of Schlieman been to the Grecian Epic and the *Iliad*, as read in the light of Hissarlik, is illuminated as never before by all the labor, culture and enthusiasm of the achæological and classic scholars from the death of Homer until now. Here the accumulated learning of students is given significance by the potent confirmation of ocular proof, and what was speculative, problematical and recondite takes the form of historic certitude. We expect to hear of the adoption of Schlieman's *Ilios* by the Greek Professors in our colleges and universities where Homer, in any measure, is regarded as necessary to complete classic culture.

But to return to Troy, Dr. Schlieman replies to the question of the identity of the site described, "If asked, Is this Priam's splendid place as described by Homer?" The answer is: "Here is Priam's splendid habitation adorned with polished corridors, in which were fifty chambers built of polished stone all side by side. There the sons of Priam slept with their wedded wives. Facing there on the other side of the court within were built twelve covered chambers, side by side of polished stone. Where

the sons-in-law of Priam slept beside their chased wives,  
I would answer with the verse of Virgil:

"Si pana licet comparare mognis."

"I wish I could prove Homer to have been an eye witness of the Trojan War, but alas I cannot do it. At his time, swords were in universal use, and iron was known, whereas they were totally unknown at Troy. Besides the civilization he describes is later by centuries than that which I have brought to light in the excavations. Homer gives us the legend of Troy's tragic fate, as it was handed down to him by preceding bards, clothing the traditional facts of the war and destruction of Troy in the garb of his own day. Neither will I maintain that his acquaintance with the Troad and Troy was that of a resident; but certainly he was not without personal knowledge of the localities for his description of the Troad in general, and of the plain of Troy in particular, are too truthful for us to believe that he could have drawn all of his details from the ancient myth. I have never called in doubt the unity of the Homeric Poems, and have always firmly believed both the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* to be by one author. If I consider how much learning and ingenuity have been expended in a hundred efforts (scarcely any two of the assailants agreeing in their negative or revolutionary criticism) to disintegrate the Homeric poems, to break up into nebulous fragments the Sun of the ancient literature, idle on my part to attempt a task already marked by so many failures, and I rest content with these immortal epics as they stand—the first fruits of the noblest literature of the world, and the fount of poetic inspiration for all later ages."

The work, in binding and clearness of type, is a fine illustration of the excellence attained in book making. The wood-cuts of objects exhumed, the various forms of pottery sets are novel and give the reader a good idea of many of the utensils common in that ancient life. The index, at the back of the book, is an excellent feature, facilitating reference while reading it, and will prove eminently serviceable when, after a lapse of time, from the first reading, occasion may arise in recurring to its pages. We commend "*Ilios*" to the literary public as full of interest to the classical scholar, and the lover of antiquarian research.

### **England, Without and Within.\***

Mr. White, in adding a new volume to the library of English travel, has given the public a fresh and instructive book. It is simply his remembrances of out-of-the-way features of English life. There is no pedantry, no book-learning. The chapters cover such topics as "English Skies," "England on the Rails," "London Streets," "A Sunday on the Thames," "Rural England," "English Women," "Parks and Palaces," "Oxford and Cambridge," "A Visit to Stratford-on-Avon," and "Habits of English Life." The sketches are in some respects like Mr. Louis Jennings' walks in Southern England. They are rich in illustrations of character and present features of English life and society which have hardly ever been presented to American readers. The book is written throughout in a candid spirit, and there is a perceptible care in the style which is not found in his volumes on language. It makes one acquainted with the English people, which is the truest and best word that can be said for it.

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\* *England, Without and Within.* By Richard Grant White. pp. 613. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

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### **The Channing Centenary.\***

This volume is well and carefully edited and deserves a place in the library of every student of religious opinion. It preserves all that was worthy of preservation among the utterances of the Channing centenary of last year. It sets forth the Channing of to-day and the changes which have been wrought in religious opinion in New England during the last half century. This is done faithfully and impartially. The speakers were in all cases men who had earned the right to say something on that occasion. The English celebrations were quite as remarkable as the American, and the tributes of the English and American press were notable for their interpretation of the religious movement which Channing chiefly initiated. The memorials of the centenary were abundantly worthy of preservation in this way.

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\* *The Channing Centenary in America, Great Britain and Ireland.* Edited by Russell Nevius Bellows. Crown 8vo. pp. 532. Price, \$2.00. Boston: George H. Ellis,

**Ideality in the Physical Sciences.\***

The lectures which make up the several chapters of this little volume, almost his only contribution to general scientific literature, were originally prepared for delivery before the Lowell Institute, and are Professor Peirce's contribution to the great theory of evolution. They testify his unwavering faith in the ultimate advantage to religion of every movement of scientific thought. They were delivered in February and March, 1879. Their titles are: "Ideality in Science," "Cosmogony," "From Vebuta to Star," "Planet, Comet, and Meteor," "The Cooling of the Earth and the Sun," and "Potentiality." It is not our purpose to discuss the contents of these lectures. They deal with daring speculations where most writers can only sit at the author's feet and listen to him. The last lecture is a specialty of this class. Here he considers the glory and majesty of the future intellectual life, and rises to the loftiest heights possible to the scientific imagination. The remarkable feature about the lectures is their wonderful clearness and beauty of style. The thought is severe and condensed; the speculations are as bold as any known to true science; and yet there is not a line which an intelligent person in common life cannot understand. Prof. Peirce was great in his simplicity, and this little book, which opens with a fine steel portrait of the author, is an apt memorial of perhaps the first of American scientists.

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\* *Ideality in the Physical Sciences.* By Benjamin Peirce. 12mo. pp. 211. Price, \$1.75. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

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**The Theistic Argument as Affected by Recent Theories.\***

This is one of the few books which can be said to deserve a careful reading. The title is a fair statement of its contents. It is not a discussion of theism, but a discussion of the way in which the speculations growing out of the

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\* *The Theistic Argument as Affected by Recent Theories.* By J. Lewis Diman, D.D. 12 mo. pp. 400. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.



physical sciences have influenced the theistic argument. It is an attempt to furnish the intellectual or rational grounds upon which the belief in God may be based, and to ascertain to what extent these have been modified by recent scientific theories. This carries the writer into philosophy and metaphysics quite as much as into science. He discusses the relativity of knowledge, the meaning of cause and force, the argument from order, the argument from design, the relation of evolution to final cause, imminent finality, conscience and moral order, history and a moral purpose, personality and the infinite, the alternative theories, and the inferences from theism. We have not the space to enter into a lengthy criticism of the way in which the several topics are handled, but it may be said of the discussion as a whole, that it clears away the difficulties which the scientific inductions have raised against theism and turns the results of science, especially of the doctrine of evolution, in its favor. Dr. Diman has argued afresh and with signal ability the grounds for belief in natural religion, and has shown that the process of revealed religion is only a higher method of reaching the conclusions to which natural religion, through every department of modern science, inevitably points. The book, however, is less an argument directly for theism than it is an effort to indicate the strength of the theistic argument from the scientific point of view. It is closely related in points of method to Dr. Mulford's "Republic of God." Again and again the same lines of teaching are advanced. It is also luminous with the fresh suggestions of a fertile and thoughtful mind. The style is natural, straightforward, making the thought easily understood. The book rises in dignity as it nears the end. Dr. Diman reaches the conclusion that "the most rational explanation that can be given of the universe, with all its varied manifestations both of matter and of mind, is the explanation which recognizes a being of infinite wisdom and power, in whose will all existence had its origin." The treatment of the whole argument is serious, full and strong. Nothing is passed over; the arguments against theism have fair treatment, and the volume has the weight, the vitality, the reach of argument, which belong to the subject. Dr. Diman has written a book that will live, a book so good as to make the regret all the keener that we shall not have another from this lamented American scholar.

**Mary Marston.\***

The plot of the story before us, like that of all George MacDonald's novels, is but the chain upon which to hang beautiful pearls of thought; and any reader familiar with his keen study of motive and wonderful poetic insight will readily understand the value of these precious stones of which he is so lavish. The author's books are poems in prose, and only those seeking elevation of thought as well as recreation in a novel can justly appreciate him.

To the story, strictly speaking, we cannot give such unmitigated praise. The sketch of an humble yet lofty character searching and finding "sermons in trees" and good in everything, is full of interest; but when this same womanly and noble creature, who is the heroine, ends by marrying the untutored blacksmith, a great musical genius, but wholly devoid of all else that would be likely to attract as refined a woman as Mary Marston, it is a shock to the sensibilities. Perhaps the author logically follows out the tendencies of a character such as he has drawn, to see the capabilities, hidden to others, of a musical nature, no matter how obscured by roughness and ignorance, but it renders the otherwise very real although rare character of the heroine, one of fiction. The rest of the personages in the book are well drawn, and we would advise our readers who have enjoyed his "Robert Falconer," "Wilfred Cumbermede," "Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood," etc., to give themselves the rare treat of so well-written and pure a novel as Mary Marston, for they will feel the old charm of the author throughout.

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\*Mary Marston, By George MacDonald. pp. 467. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1881.

**Memoirs of Prince Metternich, 1815-1829.\***

The appearance of the third and fourth volumes of Prince Metternich's Memoirs, is of interest more especially, as affording renewed opportunity to the general reader for the study of a noted character in the history of diplo-

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\*Memoirs of Prince Metternich. Edited by Prince Richard Metternich. Translated by Alexander Nopier. Vol. III., pp. 674; Vol. IV., pp. 642. Price, \$5.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

macy, rather than as throwing any new light upon either the man and the statesman. The period covered is that between the years 1815 and 1829. The principal events, the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Conferences at Carlsbad and Vienna, the Congresses of Laybach and Verona, and the diplomatic negotiations resulting from the Eastern complications up to the death of the emperor Alexander, and the accession of Nicholas to the throne of Russia. In addition to these topics, very fully treated, there are long dissertations upon the general political aspect of Europe; involving the expression of views in regard to the University system, and secret societies, the expulsion of the Jesuits from Poland, and their reception in the Dominican convent in Galicia, the position of the Jews in Austria, the liberty of the press, etc.; with unsparing comments upon the condition of France, as the outcome of the French revolution, and from that, as from a Medusa's head, the spread of those doctrines which were to engulf Continental Europe in all the horrors of unlicensed liberty. The key note of his life seems to have been a vast personal ambition drawing to itself the eyes of the world in the accomplishment of a single object, namely, the union of sovereignty against the disintegrating effect of freedom of thought and action on the part of the individual member of society. This opinion of the governing power of the mass of mankind is expressed in the following sentences: "Why must I of all people among so many millions be the one to think, where others do not think, to act, where no one else will act, and write because no one else can." As the result of Napoleonic ideas, he describes Europe "as tormented by a burning fever, the forerunner of the most violent convulsions since the fall of the Roman Empire. It is a war to the death between the old and new principles, and between the old and new social order." As the only panacea for all this, he presents the Union of princes as the "nucleus of organized strength provided by Providence to preserve the order of society, or, at least, soften the changes which are indispensable." This devotion to an established order of things, under the guise of a high morality, led him to an exaggerated estimate of many of the events of his time. The distribution of Bibles to the sailors on board an American frigate at Naples, calls forth a remark upon the "*Maladie Biblique*" as only one form of the many sided disease then spreading through Europe under the general head of mysticism. In his

views in regard to the German Universities and the freedom of the press, we find him again alluding to this wide spread malady which was at the root of all political evils at that time. Perhaps one of the most interesting things in the book is his "Political Confession of Faith" addressed to the Emperor Francis, which, of course, gives us the key to the character of the diplomatist as presented to the world at least. Throughout his political correspondence are scattered many letters of a private nature addressed to his first wife, containing impressions of men and things, and giving glimpses of a character both tender and reverential. The descriptions of the cities visited during several extended tours have the freshness of enjoyment, belonging rather to the youthful pleasure seeker than to the jaded man of affairs, which he describes himself to be. Music seems also to have been one of his passions, especially in an operatic form. It is in this free expression of private feelings that we seek for the character of the man rather than in the lofty strains of moral sentiment in his official papers. Again in his perfect acquiescence in the Divine Providence which deprived him of wife and children, and in a few years of his second wife, Antonia, Countess of Beilstein, we have proofs of the Christian faith which he professed throughout his entire career. In addition to sketches of members of his own family, there are rapid characterizations of the great men of his time, which cannot fail to interest, as the convictions of a man occupying his high position. The perusal of the volumes will undoubtedly stimulate a desire to know more of the man and of the diplomatist.

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#### Hours with the Bible.\*

In this second volume of "*Hours with the Bible*," Dr. Geikie has gained fresh laurels in setting forth "the Scriptures in the light of modern discovery and knowledge." In literary execution, in the popular presentation of exact scholarship and wide research, it is even superior to the first volume, published several months ago. The author,

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\* *Hours with the Bible*. By Cunningham Geikie, D.D. Vol. II. From Moses to the Judges. With illustrations. pp. 520. Price \$1.50. New York: James Pott, 1881.

though not noted for original work as an Egyptologist, has thoroughly mastered the works of the special students in that department, and in an unbiased manner presents us the results in a readable and popular form, so desirable in this present day of wild speculation.

In sixteen chapters, Dr. Geikie discusses all the difficult questions that arise in the presentation of the history of the children of Israel from the time of Moses to the Judges, under the following headings: 1. The Land of Goschen; 2. Egypt before the Hebrew Sojourn; 3. The Oppression in Egypt; 4. Moses; 5. The Plagues of Egypt; 6. The Tenth Plague and the Exodus; 7. The March to Sinai; 8. Still on the Way to Sinai; 9. At Sinai; 10. Still at Sinai; 11. The Wilderness; 12. The Eve of the Conquest; 13. The Conquest of Canaan; 14. The Time of the Judges; 15. The Judges; 16. Gideon to Samson.

Twenty-two illustrations are scattered through the volume, and make the work more valuable.

This second volume is accompanied by an index, which is lacking in the first; indeed, there are two indexes, one of matter and the other of texts illustrated.

The publication of this work is *timely*, inasmuch as it will interest thousands of readers who are at present engaged in the study of the book of Exodus.

We anxiously await the appearance of the third volume.

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### **The Legend of Thomas Didymus, the Jewish Sceptic.\***

This is one of the latest attempts to delineate with historical accuracy and with imaginative insight the period in which Jesus lived and had relations with his fellowmen. It is similar in conception and tone to Dr. Abbott's "Philo-Christus," and fails precisely where that work fails, and where all similar attempts to reconstruct the life of Jesus must fail. The author shrinks from that imaginative conception of things which gives the story adequate character and strength. Dr. Clarke has evidently labored faithfully over this book and made it a channel for conveying a great deal of useful information, but this is part of the mistake.

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\*The Legend of Thomas Didymus, the Jewish Sceptic. By James Freeman Clarke. 12mo. pp. 462. Price, \$1.75. Boston; Lee & Shepherd, 1881.

The book is overweighted with matter which belongs to the dictionary. It needs the kindling brain of M. Renan to treat such a subject with the light touches that give reality to the sacred scenes. Thomas Didymus tells his story too tamely and with too much detail, where the simple story as we have it in the holy Gospels is quite enough to arouse the imagination and touch the heart. Dr. Clarke has written a useful book, but the difficulties in the way of his making an exceptional book were really insurmountable. The attempt to treat a perfect character from an imaginative point of view can never, in the nature of things, be successful.

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### **Madame Delphine.\***

In this little character study which will serve to occupy an idle hour, Mr. Cable has with the unerring pencil of the Artist presented another type of a class which from its very isolation appeals to our sympathy and curiosity.

With perhaps less power in both plot and description than is shown in "The Grandissime"; and with but one or two examples of the strong passion characteristic of "Old Creole Days," we have an exquisitely drawn picture of a life which in the pathos of its quaint simplicity, and the utter hopelessness of an inherited doom, will not fail to fascinate. In addition to all this, we miss in Madame Delphine, none of that wonderful skill in delineating the physionomy of architecture which is almost Horgarthean in its effect upon the sensitive mind.

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\*"Madame Delphine." By George W. Cable, 12mo, cloth. Price, \$0.75. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1881.

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### **The Social Law of God.\***

It is a fitting time to reissue the present volume, when the writer of it has so recently been called away to his rest. It is a volume not only of personal interest and value, written in the clear, flowing style of Dr. Washburn,

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\*The Social Law of God: Sermons on the Ten Commandments. By E. A. Washburn, D. D., late Rector of Calvary Church, New York. With a sketch of his life and work. 12mo. pp. 238. Price, \$1.50. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1881.

but also characterized by breadth as well as depth of theological view, and by admirable reasoning on the great social questions of our day. Mr. De Costa's "In Memoriam," by way of introduction, covers ten pages. It gives a brief sketch of the chief incidents in Dr. Washburn's life, which, like that of most of scholars and clergymen, was not marked by any startling events or exciting scenes and experiences. The larger part of Mr. De Costa's introductory sketch is taken up with critical remarks upon Dr. Washburn's style as a writer and speaker, his extensive acquirements, his personal characteristics, etc. Though here, as in like cases, the tendency is rather too much in the eulogistic line, yet it is entirely true that his high rank is acknowledged by all, and all who knew him thoroughly appreciated his candor, frankness, sincerity, and varied learning.

### English Philosophers.\*

These are the first two volumes of a new series on the plan of "English Men of Letters," and others. "We live in an age of series," as the editor (Iwan Muller of Oxford) says, and philosophy is certainly entitled to its place in company with literature, science, and art. We welcome the new venture, and wish it success, though, to speak frankly, it must be admitted that philosophers, as a rule, have never been a very popular class of men. Their lives in general are singularly barren of accident, or matter for biographical purposes. And philosophy itself, as usually studied, proves to be for the most part wearisome to students and teachers alike. Yet philosophy must be studied, and in studying it we cannot well ignore the two eminent *Scotch* gentlemen who take the lead in this series of *English* philosophers. Adam Smith is so much better known by his great work, "The Wealth of Nations," than by his contributions to philosophy, that it may be open to question whether it was wise to put him so prominently forward as in the present instance. Mr. Farrer does the

\* 1. Adam Smith (1723-1790). By J. A. Farrer, author of "Primitive Manners and Customs," etc. 12mo, pp. 207. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881.

2. Sir William Hamilton. By W. H. S. Monck, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. 12mo, pp. 200. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881.

best he can in preventing Adam Smith's doctrines and discussions; under the heads of Phenomena of Sympathy, Moral Approbation, Merit and Demerit, Conscience and Duty, Relation and Religion to Morality, Happiness, Final Causes in Ethics, Utility, etc. The last two chapters are devoted to the Religion of Adam Smith's Theory to other Systems of Morality, and to a Review of the Principal criticism of Adam Smith's Theory. The biographical portion of the volume is very meagre and unsatisfactory, and as a whole it is rather disappointing.

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### **The Treasury of the Psalter.\***

This little book well deserves its name; it is indeed a treasury. Its purpose is to be "an aid to the better understanding of the Psalms in their use for public and private devotion." Its general plan is to present on opposite pages the text of the Psalms, and such notes and references as will best explain its meaning. The execution of this plan is painstaking and scholarly in a high degree. Seldom is so much of interest and value to be found compressed in one book as in this compact volume. The way in which by parallel references Scripture is made to explain Scripture is very admirable; and the frequent literal renderings of a word or a clause, the brief and suggestive comments drawn from the choicest sources in both prose and verse, the notes which show the use made of each Psalm in the Service Books and Hymnals of Christendom, the various indexes at the end remarkable for ingenious and thoughtful labor, all these form a work of very unusual worth. The clergyman who comes into possession of it will be apt to have it by him on his library table at all times. And the earnest layman who desires a help in his private devotions or in the interpretation of the Psalms, in which he so often takes part in public worship, will find this volume a treasure indeed.

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\* The Treasury of the Psalter. Compiled by the Rev. Geo. P. Huntington, M.A., and the Rev. Henry A. Metcalf, M.A. pp. 678. Price, \$1.25. Boston: A Williams, & Co., 1881.



**Poems.\***

There is a certain pathetic interest about these two little volumes. They represent scenes of such, every year appealing to an unheeding world, in vain, for life. To that busy world, they seem of no more importance, than drops of a passing cloud, falling into the sea. For however it is in nature, in poetry, the law of the "survival of the fittest reigns" with inexorable sway. How few in English literature, have secured a place even among the minor poets! That exceptional force of the human mind which we call, genius, and which alone can impart to poetry, enduring life, has no grades below the second-rate. Yet these poems may serve an end, which justifies their brief tenure of existence. The "Angel in the Cloud," dealing with the hardest problems of man and nature, is full of robust thought, eloquently put, and no doubt is helpful to some minds in speculative perplexities and doubts, which would turn from formulated theology and science. Miss Havergal's religious poetry, rich in Christian experience, will find in many a spiritual nature, a soul waiting for such a gentle sowing of heavenly truth.

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\*Poems. By Frances Ridley Havergal. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1881.

"The Angel in the Cloud," by Edwin W. Fuller. New York: E. E. Hale & Son, 1881.

**Alexander Hamilton Vinton. A Memorial Sermon.\***

"The great Presbyter," as Dr. Vinton was best known in the Church, is here commemorated by the pupil whom he could most fittingly call his son in the ministry, in marvellously fitting terms. The whole man is touched upon, and the portrait is wrought with words of love through and through. All know something of Dr. Vinton's public career; few could interpret his public by his spiritual and private life as Dr. Brooks has done. The sermon amounts almost to a biographical sketch, and yet the writer's close relations to him have not warped his judgment of his great friend or betrayed him into a partial characterization of his work. Dr. Vinton deserved all that Dr. Brooks has said of him, and some larger memorial of him, accompanying a selection of his writings, ought to be prepared.

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\*Alexander Hamilton Vinton. By Phillips Brooks, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. 8vo. pp. 46.

**The Gospel of the Resurrection.\***

The key-note of this book is to be found in a few passages in Dr. Mulford's "Republic of God," though each book was written quite independently of the other. Dr. Mulford speaks of God's judgments of the world and of persons as past and present and continuous; Dr. Whiton does the same; but, while the one asserts these statements to the higher reason in the magnificent sweep of his great argument, the other applies himself to exegesis and evolves a new interpretation of the spiritual resurrection, one more in accord with modern thought and one with which the church has not been previously acquainted. Dr. Whiton claims that the Apostle's interpretation of the resurrection is literal and Jewish, that they made a grand mistake as to the doctrine of a resurrection of the buried body, that their inspiration did not wholly emancipate them from this bias of inherited opinion. He urges that the resurrection is not reserved till the end of time, but is now taking place in the unseen world, through the continuously acting operation of the spiritual power which was manifest in Him who said, "I am the Resurrection and the Life." He finds a wide difference between such resurrection as mere nature brings to pass, and what Christ calls "the resurrection of life" in the full harvest of spiritual endeavors. The resurrection, in his opinion, is the continuous process of the rising of spirits, "every man in his own order," into that condition of existence in spiritual bodies which they are fitted to rise into. This condition, whatever it is, involves such a conscious experience of the spiritual results of the present life as will perfectly declare the divine judgment upon "the deeds done in the body." There is no middle state of waiting to be refurnished, at some great distant day, with a body, but an onward movement even without arrest, without halt, both in embodied life and under law, and in the judgment, consequences of uninterrupted law. Thus much what we already know of the works and ways of God, and the ideas expressed in a few great sayings of Christ require us to believe. This is the argument of the book, and expresses its positive ideas. Dr. Whiton appears to have worked independently to these conclusions from a careful study of New Testament exegesis. His

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\*The Gospel of the Resurrection. By James Morris Whiton, Ph.D. 16mo. pp. 273. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

position is more in accord with present thought in philosophy and experience than with the doctrine of the Church. It overturns the customary opinions concerning the intermediate state as well as concerning the judgment of the world. Dr. Whiton is no doubt right in the general drift of his argument, in the spiritual side of his interpretation of the resurrection, but it is doubtful if his exegesis is equal to his needs at all points. It is too much like work at carrying a point, too little in the method of calm and thorough induction. The book is bright and suggestive and will be widely read, but it will require careful reading before one can give assent to all that Dr. Whiton claims for the development-theory of the resurrection. To discuss the question by piece-meal with him would take more space than the present notice has a right to.

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\*"Work and Play—Moral Uses of Dark Things—Building Eras." By Horace Bushnell. 3 vols. Price, \$1.00 per vol. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons. 1881.

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I had loaned my copy, some weeks ago, to one of my wardens, and it has passed through successive hands, conveying a great deal of information, and I had made up my mind to get another copy for myself, leaving the first one to general vestry and parochial use.

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I remain, my dear Mr. Baum, sincerely your obedient servant,

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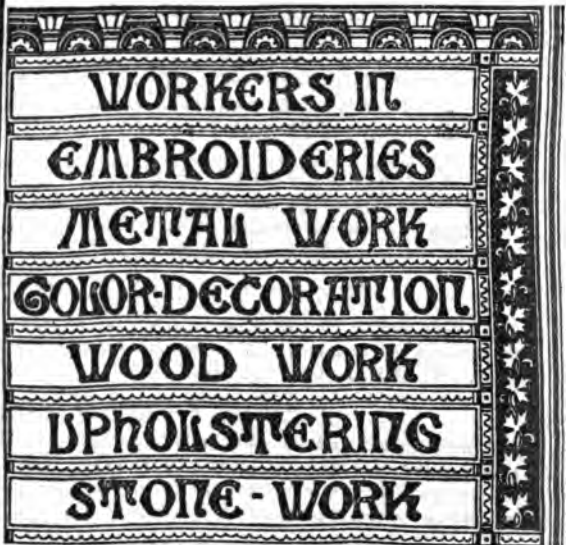
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